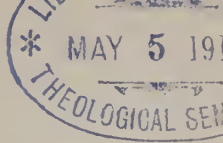


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HADADEZER OR BEN-HADAD

Ben-hadad of Damascus warred with Ahab of Israel and shortly afterwards Hadadezer of Damascus had the aid of Ahab against the Assyrian invaders. Historians commonly regard Ben-hadad and Hadadezer as in all probability one and the same person,¹ and they look upon the two names as mere variations of one original form.

The identity of person, however, has not been placed beyond the possibility of doubt; and the counter theory of diversity of person is entertained, the view that Ben-hadad was the predecessor of Hadadezer on the throne of Damascus. This counter theory introduces no confusion into the story. The Hebrew, Assyrian and other historical data arrange themselves naturally and render a consistent account of the course of events in northern Israel and at Damascus during an entire century.

The story is this: About the year 896 B. C. Baasha of Israel and a king of Damascus named Ben-hadad entered into an alliance (1 Kin. xv. 19^b), and Baasha advanced against Judah (verse 17). Thereupon Asa, king of Judah, reminded Ben-hadad of an ancient league already existing between him and Ben-hadad, and between his father and Ben-hadad's father, and by a gift of treasure he persuaded Ben-hadad to break his alliance with Baasha (verse 19). Ben-hadad accordingly seized a number of fortified towns in northern Israel along the caravan route between Damascus and the port of Akko on the Mediterranean sea (verse 20).

In the year 886 Omri as general had command of the army of Baasha's son and successor (1 Kin. xvi. 8, 16), and in

¹ "Benhadad II ist vermuthlich, wenn nicht sicher, identisch mit dem keilinschriftlichen auf der Monolithinschrift Salmanassar's II . . . erwähnten Dad-'id-ri," i.e. Hadadezer (Schrader, KAT³, 1883, p. 200).

the following year was proclaimed king by the army. Civil war ensued, lasting several years and ending in the establishment of Omri on the throne. About the year 880 he founded and fortified the city of Samaria, and made it the capital of northern Israel. About the same time the marriage of his son Ahab with Jezebel, daughter of the king of the Sidonians was arranged (1 Kin. xvi. 31), an international alliance that tended to strengthen Israel against Damascus.

In 874 B. C. Ahab succeeded his father as king of Israel. Fourteen years later, in 860 B. C., Shalmaneser ascended the throne of Assyria, and began a reign destined to last for thirty-five years; but though his army crossed the Euphrates on several campaigns, his expeditions were not at first directed against the people who dwelt as far south as Damascus and Samaria. In 856, or possibly 857 B. C., a king of Damascus named Ben-hadad, aided by thirty-two petty kings, besieged Ahab in the fortress of Samaria (1 Kin. xx. 1, 2), but his army was routed and he fled on horseback (verses 20, 21). He returned with an army at the beginning of the next year, but was utterly defeated by Ahab at the town of Aphek. Ben-hadad sued for peace, and offered to restore to Ahab the cities which his father had taken from Ahab's father,² and to allow the Israelites to occupy streets in Damascus for commercial purposes (1 Kin. xx. 26-34). Three years of peace ensued between Israel and Damascus (1 Kin. xxii. 1; comp. "third year," verse 2). In this interval of quiet Ahab obtained the vineyard of Naboth by a judicial murder (1 Kin. xxi. 1, 17-19).

At Damascus Hadadezer, according to the theory, succeeded Ben-hadad on the throne; and in 854 B. C., the battle of Karkar was fought: Hadadezer at the head of a league of kings, which included Ahab of Israel, opposed Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, near the river Orontes. The Assyrians withdrew, and did not reappear in that region for

² The actual father, or a remoter ancestor, or merely a predecessor on the throne. Compare footnote 6.

five years. Taking advantage of the absence of the Assyrians, Hadadezer in 853 B. C. renewed the war with Israel and seized the town of Ramoth in Gilead (1 Kin. xxii. 1-3). Ahab with the aid of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, attempted to recover Ramoth, but failed; and he died in the evening of wounds received in the battle (verses 29-36). From this time onward for several years as opportunity offered Hadadezer harassed Israel by predatory incursions, conducted by means of marauding bands (2 Kin. v. 2, vi. 23). Moab, too, revolted from Israel and withheld the customary tribute (2 Kin. iii. 4, 5). In 849 B. C. Shalmaneser led an army into the west and again warred with Hadadezer. Three years later, in 846 B. C., Shalmaneser was once more at war with Hadadezer. After this campaign the Assyrian army did not come again into the west until the year 842.

Toward the close of 846 B. C. or several months later, Ben-hadad succeeded Hadadezer on the throne of Damascus; and soon afterwards, there being no Assyrians in the west to keep him at home for the defense of his country, he led an army into the territory of Israel, besieged Samaria, and brought the city into dire distress; but his army suddenly became panic stricken and fled in wild confusion (2 Kin. vi. 24ff.). The king of Israel, who at this time was Jehoram, son of Ahab, is referred to by Elisha as "son of a murderer" (verse 32, comp. ix. 24-26).

About 843 B. C. Ben-hadad was murdered by Hazael and the throne of Damascus was seized by the assassin (2 Kin. viii. 7-15). In 842 B. C. military forces of Jehoram were contending with the troops of Hazael at Ramoth in Gilead for the possession of that stronghold (2 Kin. viii. 28f., ix. 14). Jehu, the commander of the Israelite army, left Ramoth at the prompting of a prophet, slew Jehoram at Jezreel, and seized the throne (2 Kin. ix. 4ff.). But Shalmaneser now invaded the west. Hazael advanced against him, but was defeated and fled to Damascus. Jehu paid tribute to Shalmaneser rather than fight. In 839 B. C. Shalmaneser again entered the territory ruled by Hazael, and captured

four cities (Obelisk 102f.). He reigned fourteen years longer, but did not again appear in the neighborhood of Damascus. Hazael was now free to continue his aggression against Israel, and he ravaged the whole of the Israelite territory east of the Jordan (2 Kin. x. 32). 821 B. C. Jehu associated his son Jehoahaz in the government (Antiq. ix. 8, 5 and 2 Kin. xiii. 10, correcting verse 1). After seven years as co-regent, the son succeeded his father on the throne (2 Kin. x. 35). Hazael continued to oppress Israel, and held the country in vassalage all the days of Jehoahaz (2 Kin. xiii. 3, 7, 22). He also marched against the cities of Gath and Jerusalem in the closing years of the reign of Jehoash, king of Judah (2 Kin. xii. 17; 2 Chron. xxiv. 23-25), a reign which ended in 805 B. C.

In 805 B. C. Jehoash of Israel succeeded Jehoahaz on the throne of Israel. About this time also Ben-hadad succeeded his father Hazael as king of Damascus (2 Kin. xiii. 24), and continued the oppression of Israel (verse 3).³ In 803, or 797, B. C. Adad-nirari, king of Assyria, besieged Mari, i.e. Ben-hadad, king of Damascus,⁴ forced the surrender of the city, took immense booty, and imposed the payment of tri-

³ Bar-hadad, son of Hazael, king of Aram, is mentioned in a contemporaneous inscription by Zakir, king of Hamath (Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie*, No. 86).

⁴ In the speech of Damascus the word signified "my lord." Tiele explained it as "einer jener verkürzten Eigennamen, in welchen der Götternamen ausgefallen ist" (*Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, 1886, p. 211). It is, however, commonly understood to be the first part of the royal title, "my lord the king"; or itself, without any additional term, the popular designation of the kings of Damascus, "my lord." The words of the Assyrian inscription are: *Ma-ri-šar ša mat Imeri-šu ina al Di-ma-aš-ki al šarru-ti-šu lu-u e-sir-šu*, My lord, the king of Damascus, in Damascus his royal city I besieged (I R 35, lines 16 and 17). The use of "my lord" as a title of the king was common in Israel, being illustrated especially by those instances where the possessive pronoun would otherwise be expected in the plural number: thus, "they said to the king, Jehovah hath avenged my lord the king" (2 Sam. iv. 8), and similarly 2 Sam. xv. 15, 1 Kin. i. 2, Ezra x. 3 R.V. The title was also used to designate God: thus, "Ye shall know that I am my Lord Jehovah" (Ezek. xiii. 9, xxiv. 24): and simply "my lord" (1 Kin. iii. 10, xxii. 6, Dan. i. 2).

bute upon Damascus and also upon the peoples of northern Israel, Edom, and Philistia. In three battles or campaigns Jehoash recovered from Ben-hadad the towns which Hazael had wrested from Israel (2 Kin. xiii. 25). Jehoash died about 790 B. C.

This narrative is the same as that yielded by the common theory that Ben-hadad and Hadadezer are one person,⁵ and that the two names are but variations of the same original; except that now, on the theory that they are different persons, Hadadezer appears as the successor of that Ben-hadad who was utterly defeated by Ahab at the town of Aphek, and as the predecessor of the Ben-hadad whom Hazael murdered. Hadadezer is the king of Syria of whom the Hebrew writer speaks, without mentioning the king's personal name, in the narrative extending from 1 Kin. xxii. 3 to 2 Kin. vi. 23. The succession of kings on the throne of Damascus for a century and more, beginning about the year 900 B. C. or a little earlier, then is Hezion; Tabrimmon;⁶ Ben-hadad, contemporary of Asa; perhaps followed by a king whose name is still unknown; Ben-hadad, contemporary of Ahab; Hadadezer; Ben-hadad, contemporary of Jehoram; Hazael, and after him his son Ben-hadad, a contemporary of Jehoash of Israel.

On this counter theory that Ben-hadad of Ahab's time is a different person from Hadadezer, the accuracy of the Hebrew record in certain statements has recently been called in question. Quite unnecessarily, however. The inquiry concerns the quinquennium from 846 to 842 B. C. inclusive. According to the Hebrew record, when combined with the Assyrian reports, a king of Damascus, Ben-hadad by name, occupied the throne between Hadadezer (or in the Assyrian form of his name Adad-idri) and Hazael. Dr. Luckenbill

⁵ For the same arrangement on this theory, see *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, 1891, pp. 103-105.

⁶ It seems to follow from 1 Kin. xv. 19 that Tabrimmon reigned at Damascus. Possibly, however, "father" is there used in a wider sense (see footnote 2). If so, 1 Kin. xi. 23-25 may be thought of in connection with xv. 19.

strangely says that "it is obviously impossible to put" this Ben-hadad between Hadadezer and Hazael: obviously impossible because according to the annals of Shalmaneser Hadadezer was king of Damascus in the year 846 B. C., whereas Hazael was king in the year 842; and the Hebrew writer states that Hazael murdered his master Ben-hadad, the king of Aram, at Damascus and reigned in his stead (2 Kin. viii. 7-15).⁷ Instead of being "obviously impossible," however, it is clearly possible. For the space of four years or five is ample time for the death of Hadadezer, the accession and reign of Ben-hadad, his assassination, and the accession of Hazael. Historical parallels are numerous. The annals of the neighboring kingdom of northern Israel alone, during its brief existence of little more than two centuries, furnish several instances. One example suffices. Hadadezer's contemporary Ahab died of wounds received in battle, was succeeded by his son Ahaziah who, however, died in less than two years from injuries sustained in a fall and was followed on the throne by his brother Jehoram. A succession of three kings in the space of four years is quite within historical possibility.

The serious obstacle, if obstacle it be, in the way of the biblical statement that Ben-hadad of Damascus was murdered and succeeded on the throne by Hazael—that is, if Ben-hadad and Hadadezer are not one and the same person—is found in an inscription of Shalmaneser's, unearthed from the ruins of the ancient city of Asshur. As quoted by Dr. Kraeling,⁸ it states that "Adad-idri forsook the land (i.e. died); Hazael, son of a nobody, seized the throne." And Dr. Kraeling remarks: "More detailed information is presented in 2 Kings 8:3-15, if we delete the name Benhadad as a gloss and refer 'king of Aram' to Adad-idri." But before proceeding summarily to delete the name Ben-hadad as a gloss, and historically inaccurate, one should inquire

⁷ Luckenbill, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, 1911, vol. xxvii. 281.

⁸ *Aram and Israel*, being *Columbia University Oriental Studies*, vol. xiii, p. 79.

whether the inscription has been correctly translated and interpreted.

The first peculiarity is noticeable in the translation, and consists in the strange omission of a small but important word of the original text. If the inscription stated that "Adad-idri forsook the land," the Assyrian scribe certainly adopted a highly poetic form of words in order to record the prosaic fact that the king died. The original text, however, does not say "the land," but "his land"; and the rendering "Hadadezer forsook his land" suggests not death, but flight; and Dr. Langdon renders the phrase "abandoned his land," and explains the words as meaning that Hadadezer abdicated the throne. However, the meaning really is that which Dr. Kraeling reached through an incorrect translation. The words should be rendered "Hadadezer reached his mountain," and this expression, not so curiously perhaps as might be imagined, signifies that Hadadezer died.⁹ And it is quite conceivable that on the death of Hadadezer he was succeeded in due course by the legitimate heir to the throne, the Ben-hadad of whom the Hebrew writer speaks. In the first of the two lines and a half quoted from the Assyrian inscription there is, accordingly, no necessary contradiction of the Hebrew record. Only when this line is taken in connection with the following line and a half does the possibility of contradiction arise. The two statements read:

Hadadezer reached his mountain.

Hazael, son of nobody,
seized the throne.

The Assyrian scribe differs with the Hebrew writer if by these words he means to assert that Hazael was the immediate successor of Hadadezer, and had seized the throne by violence before the legitimate heir was seated. Does he mean this? To interpret his meaning the two lines and a half must not be torn from their context and scanned apart by themselves as though they formed an entity. They must

⁹ See footnote 7 to the note entitled "The Statue of Shalmaneser at Asshur" in this number of the REVIEW.

be considered in the light of their setting, and viewed from the standpoint of the larger history of Assyria and Israel.

By their setting the two lines are separated. The first of the two is the conclusion of a paragraph relating to Shalmaneser's war with Hadadezer, a conflict carried on at intervals during nine years, and the second line introduces a paragraph regarding the war of Shalmaneser with Damascus in the days of Hazael. The narrative portion of the inscription is not continuous history, but is topical; and, in the extant part at least, consists mainly of consecutive paragraphs devoted to the three boldest and most obstinate opponents of Shalmaneser in the west. In the first of these paragraphs is told the story of the crushing of Ahuni, a son of Adinu, whose kingdom lay on the Euphrates river. The work required years for its accomplishment. Only the triumphant outcome is recorded here and dwelt upon. In the second paragraph is narrated the signal defeat of Hadadezer and his allies on the river Orontes. The third paragraph tells of the courageous resistance offered by a successor of Hadadezer on the throne of Damascus and of the flight of this new antagonist, the usurper Hazael, from the field of battle to the protecting walls of the capital. The rest of the story is lost by reason of the breakage of the statue on which it was written. Such is the setting of the two lines and a half: they belong to different paragraphs. The sequence of the two statements is, indeed, evidence of a temporal relation between them. The event mentioned in the later line and a half occurred after the event recorded in the preceding line. The juxtaposition of the two statements does not of itself indicate any other logical connection between the events.

Moreover, the incidents here recorded by the Assyrian scribe are but a small part of the larger history of Damascus. That history Shalmaneser is not reciting. He is celebrating his own victorious career in war, and consequently he mentions those kings only of Damascus with whom he fought: Hadadezer and the usurper Hazael, a man not of royal

blood. Shalmaneser had nothing to do with any other ruler of Damascus. In the year 846 B. C. he left Hadadezer, his opponent in many campaigns, defeated, but on the throne. On returning to the west in the year 842, he found that Hazael, a man of ignoble birth, had seized the throne and marshalled an army to resist him. Of other dynastic events during his absence of four years he has no occasion to speak, and perhaps he was not informed. At any rate he neither asserts with the Hebrew historian, nor by his form of words does he deny, that Ben-hadad was reigning at Damascus for a while during the interval between the years 846 and 842 B. C., but before the close of the period was smothered with a wet towel by Hazael and the throne seized by the murderer.¹⁰

A siege of Samaria by Ben-hadad is recorded in 2 Kin. vi.24-vii, during which the inhabitants of the city were brought to the verge of starvation and were only saved by the panic and flight of the Syrian army. This siege oc-

¹⁰ From the annals of Tiglath-pileser it would not be known that Pekahiah occupied the throne of northern Israel for a time. The Assyrian king mentions his reception of tribute from Menahem, his instigation of the murder of Pekah, and his establishment of Hoshea on the throne. He does not mention Pekahiah, son of Menahem, who reigned for two years after his father's death and was assassinated by Pekah, who thereupon usurped the kingly office; for Tiglath-pileser did not come into contact with Pekahiah, and the Assyrian is not writing the domestic history of the court of Israel.

Ptolemy did not set out to prepare a complete roster of the kings who reigned in Babylon after Nabonassar. He was drawing up a catalogue for use as a chronological calendar, and he had no need to list, and accordingly he did not list, the kings who for a brief period reigned between Nadinu and Ukin-zir, between Nergal-shar-utsur and Nabu-na'id, and between Cambyzes and Darius.

Alexander Polyhistor, in naming the kings of the dynasty to which Nebuchadnezzar belonged, having mentioned Evil-merodach continues in this wise: "After him Neglisarus reigned over the Chaldaeans four years; and then Nabodenus reigned seventeen years" (Eusebius, *Chronicorum* liber 1, cap. v. 3). Yet between these two kings intervened the brief reign of Neglisar's son, a child, who ascended the throne but was murdered a few months after his accession, and was succeeded by Nabodenus, a leader of the revolt (Berosus, cited by Josephus, *contra Apionem*, i. 20).

curred during the active prophetic life of Elisha (verse 32), who succeeded Elijah in the prophetic office after the death of Ahab. The story of the siege is given a place in the Hebrew narrative immediately after the account of the attempt made by a king of Syria, who is unnamed and therefore according to the hypothesis Hadadezer, to capture Elisha at Dothan; and it is placed before the account of the interview between Hazael and Elisha at Damascus and the murder of Ben-hadad, king of Damascus, soon afterwards by Hazael. These tokens afford contributory evidence for the conclusion that Ben-hadad was on the throne of Damascus in the interval between the years 846 and 842 B. C. They also indicate that Ben-hadad was a contemporary of Jehoram, king of Israel. Notwithstanding these credentials the Hebrew record is sometimes set aside, and Ben-hadad who conducted the siege is identified with Ben-hadad, who was the son and successor of Hazael, and oppressed Israel during the reign of Jehoahaz. According to this theory not only is 2 Kin. vi. 24-vii historically inaccurate in being assigned to the time of Jehoram, but "2 Kin. xiii. 22 must be regarded as inexact."¹¹ On what ground is the evidence of the Hebrew record rejected? Mainly on this ground, namely that Elisha refers to the king of Israel as the "son of a murderer" (2 Kin. vi. 32).¹² "That Joahaz alone can be meant becomes a certainty from vi. 32, where the king is called 'son of a murderer,' which must refer to Jehu, the father of Joahaz, whose bloody deeds are chronicled in detail."¹¹ The argument is not sound. Jehu, indeed, was a man of blood and slaughtered; but it is another, and not Jehu, to whom the Hebrew writer actually applies the word murderer. Jehoram, son of Ahab, was "son of a murderer," for Ahab was ultimately responsible for the judicial murder of Naboth, and Elijah definitely charged him with the murder, and did so probably in the presence of Elisha (1 Kin. xxi.

¹¹ Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 82 and footnote.

¹² Kuenen, *Einleitung*, § 25, Anm. 12, German translation of the second edition; Kittel, *Geschichte der Hebräer*, ii. 250, Anm. 2.

19, where the word rendered kill is a form of the word rendered murderer in 2 Kin. vi. 32).¹³ Thus even in minute particulars the siege of Samaria by Ben-hadad fits into the period before Hazael's usurpation of the Syrian throne in the year 842 B. C. The failure of Ben-hadad in his campaign against Israel may not unlikely have angered the warlike Hazael, and justified him in his own eyes in removing an incompetent from the throne.

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¹³ Compare Burney, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings*, p. 278.

THE STATUE OF SHALMANESER AT ASSHUR

WHO WAS CONTEMPORARY WITH HADADEZER

A statue of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, who reigned from 860 to 824 B. C., was found in December, 1903, by German excavators on the site of ancient Asshur, the early capital of Assyria, on the western bank of the Tigris river about sixty miles south of Nineveh. The head of the figure was gone, and the body lay in two pieces, broken asunder below the waist. It had been carved from a block of basalt, and in its complete state stood about eight feet high. The inscription records the deeds of Shalmaneser. It is graven on the rich outer garment which clothes the king from the loins to the feet. The writing begins on the front of the robe, and the closing lines are found on the back. Between these sections there is a gap in the inscription, due to breakage.¹

In transliteration the words of the inscription are: (1) *Šulmanu-ašaridu šarru rab-u šarru dan-nu* (2) *šar kul-lat kib-rat arba'-i ik-du* (3) *li'-u ša-nin mal-ki.* (4) *ša kiš-ša-ti rabuti šarrani* (5) *mar Ašur-našir-pal šar kiššati šar mat Aššur* (6) *apal Tukulti-Ninib šar kiššati šar mat Aššur ma*²

¹ *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 1904, No. 21, pp. 20, 39-42. The text is published in *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, historischen Inhalts*. Erstes Heft. Autographien von Leopold Messerschmidt, Berlin, 1911, plate 30. A transliteration and a translation of the lines on the front, 1-34 or 35, are offered by Langdon, *Expository Times*, November, 1911, p. 69; and both are quoted with slight changes by Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, 1912, pp. 298 and 299. Line 9 on the back of the statue and half of its continuation below the fringe is translated by Delitzsch in the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 21, p. 53.

² The character *ma* requires no translation. It is frequently employed as here, where a series of royal titles is interrupted by the insertion of the names and titles of the ancestors of the king. It is placed after the concluding title of the last royal ancestor in the series (sometimes after each ancestor's titles), and marks as it were the close of the genealogy and the resumption of the interrupted discourse concerning the king's own person and prowess (Shalmaneser's Throne Inscription, col. i. 9; Le Gac, *Inscriptions d'Assur-našir-aplu III*, pp. 88, 117, 126, 154, 172, 188, 200, 201).

ka-šid (7) *mat En-zi mat Gil-za-a-nu mat Hu-bu-uš[-ki-a]*
 (8) *mat U-ra-r[at³ n]a-aš-pan-t[i-šu-nu]*⁴ (9) *aš-kun-ma*
ki-ma ilu NE [GI] (10) *eli-šu-nu a-ba' A-hu-ni* (11) *mar*
A-di-ni a-di ila-ni[-šu] (12) *šabe-šu mati-šu buš e[-kalli-šu*
a-] su-h[a-ma] (13) *a-na niše mati-ia a[m]-nu-šu-[nu]*⁵
 (14) *Addu-id-ri ša mat Imerišu* (15) *a-di xii mal-ki ri-ši-šu*
 (16) *abikta-šu-nu aš-kun-ma xxix M* (17) *a-li-li mun-daḥ*
hi-ši-šu (18) *u-sal-li⁶ ki-ma šu-bi* (19) *si-ta-at šabe-šu-nu a-*

³ These countries lay near together in the mountainous region to the north and northeast of Nineveh, Enzite being at the western end and Hubushkia at the eastern end of a semicircle. In a familiar passage, in an account of one of his campaigns, Shalmaneser mentions the four in succession as traversed and subdued by him (Monolith, col. ii. 45-66). But in this inscription on the statue the names are peculiar in form. Enzite, as the name is written elsewhere in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser (Monolith, ii. 42, 45, and 65; Bronze Gates, ii. 5, Source of the Sebenehsu 10; Bull 1, belly 18, comp. Layard 12 and BA. vi Heft 1, p. 144) is shortened to Enzi, as in an inscription of Shalmaneser's son. Hubushkia is abbreviated to Hubush, unless for lack of room the remaining portion was written outside of the space allotted to the inscription on the statue. Regarding the name Urartu, in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser it is regularly written *U-ra-ar-ṭi* (with the *ḥi/ṭi* sign; Obelisk 142; Monolith, col. ii. 55; Bronze Gates, col. iii. 3 and band B superscription) and *U-ra-ar-ṭu* (Source, 12), but the last two characters are not found here. The width of the defaced portion and the traces of a character which appear outside of the injured area indicate, not the sign *ar* (Langdon), but the sign *raṭ*. If this surmise is correct, the name was written without the vowel-ending, as frequently in other geographical names, and consequently the a-sound appears between the two consecutive vowelless final consonants, *U-ra-raṭ*. With this form may be compared such names as Kalhu and Kalah, Elamtu and E-lammat. There is a possible alternative. The traces of the well-nigh obliterated sign show a horizontal wedge followed by a perpendicular one. If the first wedge slanted, instead of being horizontal, the sign could be read *ṭi* (namely *di/ṭi*). In that case the scribe has carelessly omitted the syllable *ar*. But the sign *di/ṭi* could scarcely be accommodated in the space at disposal.

⁴ Langdon reads "*U-ra-[ar?]-tam as-pan* (sic!) [*abikta-šunu*], Urartu I smote(?). Their overthrow." But the established form of the Imperfect is *aspuṇ* and *ašpuṇ*, with the u-vowel; and the remnants of the following sign do not lend themselves to the ideogram for *abiktu*, but suit the sign *ti*.

⁵ Guaranteed by Monolith, col. ii. 75; Ashurnatsirpal, Standard Inscription, col. iii. 125. Hence not *inu-šu-ma* (Langdon).

⁶ Langdon reads *u-ni-li*.

na (20) nar A-ra-an-te (21) [a]t-bu-uk (22-24) a-na šu-zu-ub napšati-šu-nu e-li-u (25) Addu-id-ri šada-šu e-mi-id⁷ (26) Ha-za'-ilu mar la ma-ma-na (27) kussa iṣ-bat ṣabe-šu ma'-du (28) id-ka-a a-na e-piṣ (29) kabli u taḥazi a-na irti-a it-ba-a (30) it-ti-šu am-daḥ-ḥi-iṣ abikta-šu (31) aš-kun dur uš-ma-ni-šu e-kim-šu (32) a-na šu-zu-ub napšati-šu (33) e-li a-di (34) al Di-ma-aš-ki (35) al šarru-ti-šu ar-di . . . (Rear 1) šanuti šanitu a-na mat Nam-ri a-lik Ia⁸-an-zu-u šar mat Nam-ri a-di ilani-šu šal-lat mati-šu (2) buš e-kalli-šu a-na ali-ia Aššur ub-la a-na mat Tu-un-ni šad-e kaspi mat Mu-li-i šad-e parutu burašu šal-mu narkab-ti-a (4) ina

⁷ That is, Hadadezer died. Langdon reads *mati-su e-mi-id*, translates "abandoned his land," and explains the expression as meaning that the king abdicated the throne. But the true reading and meaning of this passage and the two similar ones (Sénacherib, Hexagonal Prism, col. ii. 37; Ashurbanipal, Prism, col. ii. 81) have been determined. Dr. Allis refers to the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, December, 1907, No. 35, p. 43, and to Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 5th edition, 1912, p. 154. In the *Mitteilungen* Winckler translates from a tablet found at Boghaz-köi in the summer of 1907 thus: "Als Subbiluliuma, mein Grossvater, gestorben war, bestieg Mursili, mein Vater, der Sohn Subbiluliumas, den Königsthron"; and in a footnote to the word gestorben he adds: "Der hier gebrauchte Ausdruck löst eine alte crux der Keilschrift: šadâ (Har. Sag.) i-mi-id. Daraus folgt, dass der rätselhafte Ausdruck Mat-šu oder Mat-su emid zu lesen ist šadâ-šu (šad-su!) emid: er gelangte auf den Berg, den Gipfel = starb." And in the *Lesestücke* Delitzsch, under the word *emidu*, p. 154, cites the inscription of Sennacherib found at Nebi Yunus (I R 43, 11): "i-mid šad-da-šu, i. S. v. 'er segnete das Zeitliche'." The phonetic complement shows that the ideogram does not represent *matu*, land, in this expression, but *šadu*, mountain; and the context makes clear that the expression signifies "he died." It is used of kings. The passage, beginning at the end of line 7, reads: šu-u a-na mat tam-tim e-diš iṣ-par-šid-ma ilani ma-šal mati-šu it-ti eṣimat abe-šu (9) maḥ-ru-ti ul-ta ki-rib ki-maḥ iḥ-pi-ir-ma niše . . . ki-rib elippe (10) u-še-li-ma a-na al Na-gi-ti ša e-bir-tan nar Mar-rat e-bir-ma i-na aš-ri (11) šu-a-tu i-mid šad-da-šu gi-mir mati-šu ak-šud-dam-ma. He [Merodach-baladan] to the sea-land fled alone, and the gods of his whole land with the bones of his forefathers (9) from the midst of the coffin he gathered and men . . . in ships (10) he embarked and to the city of Nagitu, which is on the other side of the Persian Gulf, he crossed; and in that place (11) itself he reached his mountain. The whole of his land I conquered.

⁸ The autographed text shows the sign *ṣi*. But Delitzsch evidently read *ia* (*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 1904, No. 21, p. 42), and so the name is written on the Obelisk, lines 95, 112, 125.

kir-bi-šu-nu ul⁹-ziz parutu ma'-du a-na la ma-ni (5)
aš-ša-a a-na mat Ẹu-u-e mat Ta-ba-li a-lik matati-šu-nu (6)
a-ni-ir-ma a-na tili u kar-me u-tir Ka-ti-i amelu nakruti šap?
šu (7) *ina al Pa-aḥ-ri šarru-ti-šu e-sir-šu me-lam-me*
belu-ti-a is-lu-pu-šu-ma marat-su (8) *it-ti nu-du-ni-ša ana al*
Kal-ḥi ub-la šepi-ia iṣ-bat (9) *ina um-me-šu-ma dura-ni*
ali-ia Aššur ištu uš-še-šu-nu a-di taḥ-lu-bi-šu-nu epu-uš
ša-lam šarru-ti-a epu-uš ina abulli gurgurri ul-ziz šum duri
rab-e ša me-lam-mu-šu mata kat-mu (10) *šum šal-ḥi-šu*
mu-nir-ri-ṭi kib-ra-a-te.

And this is the tale of his valor and greatness: "(1) Shalmaneser, great king, mighty king, (2) king of all four regions, powerful, (3 and 4) wise, peer of the princes of the whole world, the great kings; (6 and 5) son of Ashur-natsirpal, king of the whole world, king of Assyria, son of Tukulti-Ninib, king of the whole world, king of Assyria;² conqueror of (7) the countries of Enzi, Gilzanu, Hubushkia, (8) Urartu.³ Their overthrow (9) I accomplished, and like the god of fire (10) upon them I came. Ahuni, (11) son of Adinu, with his gods, (12) his army, his land,¹⁰ the treasure of his palace I took away, (13) for the people of my land I counted them. (14) Addu-idri of the land of Damascus (15) with twelve princes, his allies, (16) their defeat I accomplished, and twenty-nine thousand (17) mighty ones, his warriors, (18) I hurled down like a simoon(?). (19-21) The rest of his soldiers to the river Orontes I made flow in a stream. (22-24) To save their lives they fled. (25) Addu-idri reached his mountain.⁷ (26) Hazael, son of nobody, (27) seized the throne. His numerous soldiers (28) he summoned; to make (20) battle and combat against me he advanced. (30) With him I fought, his defeat (31) I accomplished, the wall of his camp I took from him. (32) In order to save his life (33) he fled away. To

⁹ The initial oblique wedge has been omitted from the sign *ul*.

¹⁰ Namely, the inhabitants; as, I subjugated their lands (Rear of statue, lines 5f.), I assembled the land (Obelisk 91, and Bull 1, back 43).

(34) the city of Damascus, (35) his royal city, I marched.¹¹ . . . (Rear 1) A second time to the land of Namri I went. Janzu, king of the land of Namri, with his gods, the booty of his land, (2) the treasure of his palace, to my city Asshur I brought. To the land of Tunni, a mountain yielding silver, (3) the land of Muli, a mountain yielding alabaster, dark pine, [I went].¹² My war chariot (4) in their midst I placed. Much alabaster, beyond count, (5) I took away. To the land of Kue, land of Tabali, I went. Their lands (6) I subjugated and to heaps and ruins turned. Kati the enemy . . . (7) in the city of Pahri, his royal [city],¹³ I besieged him. The splendor of my sovereignty cast him down, and his daughter (8) with her dowry to the city of Calah he brought, my feet he grasped. (9) In those days the walls of my city Asshur from their foundation to their roof I built. An image of my royal person I made, in the gate of the metal worker I erected. The name of the great wall, Whose splendor covers the land, (11) the name of the outer wall, Destroyer of the (four) regions."

The lines 6^b-10^a of the inscription summarize the results of the frequent campaigns conducted in the mountainous countries lying near together north and northeast of Nineveh, notably the expedition of the year 857 B.C. (Obelisk 44, Monolith col. ii. 30-65, Bronze Gates col. ii. 5-iii. 3); lines 10^b-13 tell of the final victory over Ahuni, obtained by Shalmaneser in 857 B. C. after two previous attempts to place the land of Beth-eden under the yoke of Assyria (Obelisk 45-49, Monolith col. ii. 66-75, Gates col. iii. 3-6); lines 14-25 describe the defeat of Hadadezer on the Orontes in 854

¹¹ The rest of the narrative of Hazael's defeat is lacking, due to the fracture of the statue; but the story went on to tell of the siege of Damascus and the subjugation of the kingdom (III R 5, no. 6).

¹² The scribes were not infallible. Occasionally they omitted words and syllables, as is illustrated by Obelisk, lines 44 and 88, and Monolith, col. ii. 31, 36, 45. Here the word *allik* is lacking; but on the Obelisk, line 107, the sentence ends after *burašu* with *a-lik*.

¹³ Lacking in the text. In line 6 does the scribe intend, not *šap šu*, but *uš-te-rik*, he caused to empty forth; pour forth from their villages; led forth? Comp. Gen. xiv. 14.

B. C. (Obelisk 54-66), and mention his death; lines 26-35 contain the story of the battle with Hazael, fought in the year 842 B. C. (Obelisk 97); rear lines 1-2^a relate the second invasion of Namri, which took place in 846 B. C., the spoliation of the country, and the captivity of its king (Obelisk 110-126); lines 2^b-5^a give an account of the plundering expedition to Tunni in the year 838 B. C. (Obelisk 104-107); and lines 5^b-8 state the result of the campaigns against the countries of Kue and Tabalu during the years from 840 to 834 B.C. (Obelisk 101-139), with particular mention of the submission of the king of Kue (Obelisk 128-139). The latest event that can be dated occurred in 834 B. C.; and the latest regnal year involved in the Throne Inscription, which tells of the restoration of the walls of Asshur, is the twenty-third, or 837 B. C. Accordingly the latest date that need be assumed for the rebuilding of the city walls is 837 B. C., and for the erection of the statue of Shalmaneser is the year 834 B. C.

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SCIENTIFIC BIBLICAL CRITICISM

In the common law of England, which is followed in most of our American commonwealths, the presumption is that the accused is innocent of an alleged crime until he shall have been proven guilty. It may be called the evidential system of jurisprudence. In contradistinction to this is the inquisitorial system in which the accused is supposed to be guilty unless he can establish his innocence. These two systems have their followers when we leave the forum of legal combat and enter that of biblical literature and history. Those who pursue the inquisitorial method accuse the authors of the Old Testament books of anachronisms, inconsistencies, frauds, forgeries, and false statements, and boldly defy anyone to disprove their accusations. The would-be defenders of the authors are very much in the position of a man who would have defended a friend in the clutches of the Spanish inquisition.¹ He could not gain access to the accused and the accused had no means of communicating with him, except through the inquisitors themselves. So, Moses and Isaiah and Jonah are unable to communicate with us who would defend them; and those who accuse them, or their works, of misstatements and falsehoods wrest their words, stigmatize their motives, assume that their own opinions are testimony, and declare a verdict of guilty. They denounce as unscientific any attempt on the part of the defenders to establish the truthfulness and harmoniousness of the documents. They set themselves up as accusers, witnesses, jury and judges, and call unscholarly and traditional (word of scorn!) all who refuse to accept their verdict. They cry aloud: To the auto da fé with the book and with all the defenders thereof!

¹ See Emil Reich: *The Failure of the Higher Criticism of the Bible*, 81-126.

A. EXAMPLES OF CRITICAL METHODS.

GENESIS XIV

One of the most outstanding examples of the inquisitorial method of criticism is Gen. xiv, where we have the account of the expedition of Chedorlaomer against the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah. Of this expedition and of the defeat of it by Abraham, Wellhausen says, that they "are simply impossibilities." When it is shown that the kings of Babylonia had made similar expeditions as far as the Mediterranean in the time of Lugal-zaggizi and Sargon the First (cir. 3000 B.C.),² and in the time of Hammurabi (2000 B.C.),³ and that in the time of Hammurabi, there were kings with the names of Arioch, Tidal, and with at least the component parts of the name Chedorlaomer, and several persons with the name of Abram, the critics reply that some unknown Jewish archaeologist of some time between 900 and 300 B. C., who happened to be in Babylon, concocted this little story in glorification of Abraham and succeeded in inducing Ezra and Nehemiah, or some later Jewish authorities before 280 B. C. (when the Septuagint translation was made), to accept the fabrication as fact and to embody it among the archives of the Jewish people, by whom it has ever since been considered to be authoritative history.

In favor of the historical character of this narrative we have the evidence⁴ that it suits the time and the place,⁵ that the names of the principal actors are known to be names of persons living in the time of Hammurabi,⁶ that the names of the three kings confederated with Chedorlaomer and probably of the five kings of Sodom and other cities that fought against him have been identified as kings of the time of Hammurabi,⁷ that Elam had at that time and never afterwards the hegemony of Western Asia,⁸ that expeditions of the kind were common from 4000 B. C. to the time of the

² King, *A History of Sumer and Akkad*, 197, 360.

³ Jeremias: *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, I. 317, 322.

Persians and that oriental armies have again and again been put to flight by a sudden attack of inferior forces.⁴

Against the historical character of this narrative we have the assertion of Wellhausen and other critics of our times (only about 4,000 years after the supposed expedition!) that the expedition was "*simply impossible*," and that it is probable that the account may have been fabricated (or forged) by some person unknown, at some time unknown, in some way unknown, and accepted as true history by some persons unknown, at some time unknown, for reasons unknown. Not one item of evidence in the way of time, place, logic, psychology, language, or customs, has been produced against the trustworthiness of the document. The *prima facie* evidence is supported by the circumstantial evidence. But a German professor says it is "simply impossible"; the English scholars (rightly named) echo "simply impossible," and the American pupils echo again "simply impossible." And this assertion of simply impossible is called an "assured result of scientific criticism"! Rather, it is a result assured by the assurance of those who affirm it. And as to such criticism being *scientific* it will deserve the appellation only when the Latin dictionary defines *scientia* by "ignorance."⁵

THE LAW OF HOLINESS

In contradistinction to the inquisitorial method is that which presumes a man to be innocent until he is proven guilty. As applied to documents it proceeds on the presumption that the document is what it purports to be until

⁴ See Reich: *Loc cit.* p. 81, Sayce PSBA, 1918, and Pilser PSBA, XXXV. 205-216.

⁵ The evidence on Gen. xiv will be found in Hommel: "*The Ancient Hebrew Tradition*," pp. 146-200; Albert T. Clay: *Light on the Old Testament*, pp. 125-143; Alfred Jeremias: *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, pp. 314-324; Pinches: *The Old Testament*, &c.; King: *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, I, pp. 49ff., III, 68ff., 6-11, 237; Schorr: *Urkunden des Alt-babylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts*, pp. 589, 591, 595, 612; Pilser: *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, for 1913 and 1914; and many discussions by Professor Sayce.

it shall be proven that it is not. Thus the presumption is that the so-called Law of Holiness (Lev. xvii-xxvi) was the work of Moses, because seventeen times in these chapters it is said that Jehovah spake unto Moses saying what follows in that section, and because the Law begins with the statement "Jehovah spake unto Moses saying: Speak unto Aaron and unto his sons and unto all the children of Israel, and say unto them: This is the thing which Jehovah hath commanded," and ends with the subscription (xxvi. 46): "These are the statutes and ordinances and laws, which Jehovah made between him and the children of Israel in Mount Sinai by Moses." The superscription and subscription mention the place, time, subject-matter, original speaker, mediators, and persons addressed. The contents of the chapters seem to substantiate the claim of the superscription and subscription.

The issue, then, is clearly drawn. Anyone who successfully assails the veracity of this document must prove either that there is no Jehovah, or that He cannot address nor speak to man, or that there was no Moses or Aaron, or that Jehovah did not speak to Moses, or that there were no children of Israel at that time, or that the laws were not given at Sinai. Its veracity is not directly assailed by an attack on its language for the document does not say that it was written in Hebrew. Nor would it prove its non-existence to show that it was not mentioned, nor observed for four hundred or a thousand years after it was written; nor even to show that before the time of Ezra its injunctions were broken and the very opposite of them obeyed. Nor would it show that the document as a whole was not from Moses, if it could be demonstrated that certain parts of it were not from him, the critics themselves being witnesses; for they all claim that there are interpolations in Amos and Jeremiah while upholding their genuineness as a whole.⁶ Nor would it show that the Law of Holiness was not given by Moses, if it could be proven that he did not write it with

⁶ Compare the last section of the Gospel of Mark.

his own hand.⁷ Nor would it prove that Moses was not the author of the Law of Holiness to affirm that the same kind of argument which has been used with regard to it would prove also that Moses was the author of the Law of the Covenant in Ex. xx-xxiv, and of Deuteronomy and of the other documents of the Pentateuch, and that *they* could not have had the same author. For if Jehovah was really the source of all the laws as the documents state, then any apparent inconsistencies between the codes must be possible to harmonize or must be due to errors of transmission, or, at least, will be no more against the consistency of the laws, if they were all written during Moses' lifetime than if they were uttered at widely separated periods of time. And if they were all the production of Moses, and he merely attributed

⁷ The critics reiterate the statement that it is not said in the Pentateuch that *Moses* wrote any of it except the curse on Amalek, the Ten Commandments and certain other portions, as if this were an unanswerable argument against the Mosaic authorship of the Law. Is one to allege, then, that Hammurabi cannot be called the author of the code named after him, unless, forsooth, he inscribed it with his own hand? And yet the monument expressly ascribes itself to Hammurabi in the words of the epilogue (Col. xli. 59-67); "In the days that are yet to come, for all future times, may the king who is in the land observe the words of righteousness which I have written upon my monument." Or, is Sennacherib not to be called the author of Cylinder No. 103,000, unless he himself inscribed it? Yet it begins with his name and titles and is full of his words and deeds recorded in the first person, singular number. "I fashioned a memorial tablet," "I set it up," "I flayed Kirua," "I sent my troops." It is all I, I, I, my, my, my, from beginning to end; and yet, it is certain that he never wrote a word of it with his own hand. Or, is Darius Hystaspis not the author of the Behistun Inscription, whose sentences are largely in the first person and of which nearly every section begins with "Thus saith Darius the king"? What a subject for the painter's brush! Darius, the Persian Achaemenid, king of Babylon and of the lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, sitting on a scaffolding, his chisel in his left hand and his mallet in his right, cutting into the imperishable rock the record of his achievements by the grace of Ahuramazda! And how about Thothmes I and III, and Rameses II, III and XIII, and Shishak, and Tiglath-Pileser I and III, and Nebuchadnezzar I and II, and others, whose numerous and lengthy records have been preserved? Are we to suppose that Moses cannot have recorded his thoughts and words and deeds just in the same way that his predecessors, contemporaries, and successors, did?

them to Jehovah, this would simply remove the onus of the alleged inconsistencies from the shoulders of Ezra and the later Jews and place it upon the back of Moses. Why must we suppose that Moses would have avoided all inconsistencies, but that Ezra and all the numerous unknown but cunning redactors who are alleged to have composed the Pentateuch should have retained them? It is passing strange, also, that the Pharisees and Rabbis who tried to observe fully all laws and actually thought they were doing so, should have failed to find in them those inconsistencies which to the modern critic seem so numerous and incomprehensible and irreconcilable.

Nor is there anything in The Law of Holiness that may not have been written 1500 years before Christ as well as 500 years before. Indeed, we can scarcely conceive of a human society so ignorant as not to have understood all of its injunctions. No lawyer is needed to explain its simple, clear, and concise language; and it is concerned with every day matters, such as the shedding of blood, the relation of the sexes, and duties to parents, strangers, and God.⁸

Nor can it be shown that there are any geographical or archaeological references in the Law of Holiness that are unsuitable to the age of Moses. Nor can it be shown that

⁸ The following is an analysis of the Law of Holiness: xvi, the day of atonement; xvii, laws concerning blood; xviii, laws of incest and lust; xix, xx, laws of holy living such as fearing parents (xix. 3), rejecting idols (vs. 4), offering acceptable peace offerings (5-8), helping the poor (9, 10), forbidding stealing and lying and profanity (11, 12), defrauding the workingman (13), injuring the deformed (14), perverting judgment (15), being a talebearer or hater of neighbors (16, 17), vengeance (18), mingling of cattle, seed or textiles (19), fornication (20-22), eating of holy fruit (23-25), or blood (26), practising magic (26), or mutilation (27, 28), or prostitution (29), profaning the sabbath or the sanctuary (30), defiling themselves with familiar spirits, etc. (31), dishonoring the aged and stranger (32), and falsifying the weights and measures (35-36), giving seed to Moloch (xx. 1-5), wizards (6), cursing parents (9), adultery (10-21); xxi and xxii, laws concerning holiness of priests; xxiii, the feasts; xxiv, xxv, various laws such as that concerning the oil and the lamp (1-4), the shew-bread (5-9), blasphemy (10-16), and the *lex talionis* (17-22); xxvi, epilogue.

the ideas of Holiness are such as could not have been known to Moses, or that they are so different from the ideas of JE, D and P as that they could not all have proceeded from the fertile brain of one man and age. Where the ideas of the different documents are the same and are expressed in the same language, they may of course have been by the same author. Where the ideas differ in phraseology but are substantially the same, this is also no indication of different authorship.⁹ Where the subjects are the same and the ideas expressed differ, the author may have changed his mind, or he may have had different circumstances and conditions in view. Mohammed changed his views on marriage and other subjects and he changed the laws to suit his changing views. The condition of the Muslim changed after he went to Medina and especially after he set out to conquer the world; so, he began to make new laws for his anticipated empire.

Nor, finally, is the language such as would indicate a time inconsistent with that of Moses. To be sure, there are in this particular document words and phrases which occur seldom, or never, elsewhere. But this is no proof of age or authorship but simply of subject, aim, and method. Nowhere else in the Old Testament is this subject of holiness treated of fully. The aim of the writer is to secure the holiness of the people and he bases this holiness upon the holiness of God. Hence the frequent use of the phrases: "I Jehovah am holy," "I am Jehovah," and "I am Jehovah which sanctify you." Since this holiness was to be secured by obeying Jehovah's law, we have the frequent injunction to walk in, or to observe and do, the statutes and judgments of Jehovah; and the threats of God's setting his face against them and of their even bearing their own sins and being excommunicated if they profaned his name, sanctuary, or sabbaths. As to words occurring in this passage alone, or infrequently elsewhere, this is characteristic of every document and almost of every chapter of the Old Testament.

⁹ Thus in the Koran, Mohammed refers five different times to the means by which Sodom and Gommorrah were destroyed. In two cases only is the language the same.

As to the claim that certain technical expressions¹⁰ indicate a different author or age, it is an assertion entirely unsupported by direct evidence and contrary to analogy¹¹. That the word for man should be repeated in the protasis in the sense of "whoever"¹² and that this phrase should occur eleven times in H and three times in P but not at all in JE or D is to be accounted for partly by the fact that JE and D are mostly in the second person and H and P in the third. Further, it is not clear that the idea of "whoever" as expressed by the repetition of the word for man is exactly the same as that expressed by other words and combinations. And lastly analogy shows that such variations are no necessary indication of different author or date.¹³

We have thus shown that in the peculiarities of H there is nothing opposed to its Mosaic authorship. But how about its authorship by another than Moses? Is it likely that a forger of a document would, scores of times, use phrases that occurred seldom, if ever, in the documents recognized as having been written by the author whose works he was imitating? Would not the perpetrator of a pseudepigraph, intended to be accredited as a genuine work of the author whose name was falsely attached to it, have had the prudence or common sense to avoid as far as possible all indications of recognizable variations from the acknowledged originals of the man whose name he had attached? To at-

¹⁰ Such as שֶׁרָאָר and עֵמִית (LOT, 49).

¹¹ Thus the omen texts (or laws) published by Dennefeld (*Babylonisch-Assyrische Geburts-Omina*, Leipzig, 1914), have eleven new words to denote parts of the human body and about twenty other new words, or new meanings of words.

¹² אִשׁ אִשׁ.

¹³ Thus in Dennefeld's *Geburts-Omina* there are five different ways of expressing the idea of "the one" and "the other". See his introduction, pages 22, 23. The above remarks are based on the peculiarities of H as given in Dr. Driver's *Literature of the Old Testament*, pp. 49, 50. The same arguments which LOT uses to disprove the unity of the Pentateuch would disprove the unity of the Koran. We have in Mohammed's great work the same variety in the use of the names for God, duplicates, synonyms, contradictions, hapax legomena, and peculiar or favorite expressions. And yet all admit the unity of authorship of the Koran!

tempt to prove a forgery by showing the alleged writer never existed, or that the dates of events, or kind of language are wrong, is fair and according to the law of evidence;^{13a} but to expect us to believe that the forger of a document which was designed to be accepted as genuine should have made its language *differ* repeatedly, obtrusively and unnecessarily from that of another document by the alleged author, is contrary to common sense as well as to common law.

B. LAWS IN THE PENTATEUCH ASCRPTIONS

Taking up the remaining portions of the Pentateuch we find that the collections of laws, however great or small these collections may be and whatever their subject-matter, are attributed invariably to Moses. The so-called Code of the Covenant in Ex. xix-xxiv says in the prologue that Moses went up unto God in Mount Sinai and that the Lord said unto him: "These are the words which thou shalt speak unto the Children of Israel" (xix. 2-6). So "Moses went down unto the people and spake unto them" (xix. 25) the words of chapter xx and the judgments of xxi-xxiii. Then in chapter xxiv we are told that Moses told the people all the words of the Lord and all the judgments (vs. 3) and Moses wrote all the words of the Lord (vs. 4) and afterwards read the book of the covenant in the audience of the people; and they said, "All that the Lord hath said will we do, and be obedient" (vs. 7).

In like manner the prologue to Deuteronomy again and again ascribes the laws to Moses. Thus it begins: These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel on the banks of Jordan in the wilderness of the Arabah in the land of Moab (vs. 1-5). Again, in the epilogue in xxix. 1, it is said: These are the words of the covenant which the Lord commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel in the land of Moab, besides (i.e., apart from, or in addition to) the covenants which he made with them in Horeb.

^{13a} Compare Bentley's great argument against the genuineness of the Epistles of Phalaris.

The smaller portions, also, and individual laws claim Moses as their author. Thus, the offering for the tabernacle and its plan were commanded by God to the people through Moses (Ex. xxv. 1, 9 f., xxix. 42, 43). So also with the laws of offering, Lev. i. 1, 2, vii. 37, 38; of the consecration of the priests, Lev. viii. 1, 5, 25, 36; of unclean food, Lev. xi. 1, 46, 47; of leprosy, Lev. xiii. 1, xiv. 54-57; and, in short, of all the other laws of the Pentateuch.

Now, with regard to any one in particular of these codes and laws, we do not see how any living man can have the assurance, the assumption of an impossible knowledge, to assert that it may not have been, as it claims to be, the work of Moses. Language, subject-matter, and circumstances, all favor the claim of each particular section to have been what it professes to be. It is only by resorting to what we deem an unjustifiable method of procedure that any case can be made out on behalf of the deniers of Mosaic authorship. This method is based on the presumption that the documents are forgeries and that the writers were guilty of false statements as to the time and place and authors of the documents. Being utterly unable to substantiate these charges by direct evidence bearing on the separate documents, these deniers of Mosaic authorship resort to two expedients. They charge, first, that some of the documents contain numerous unnecessary repetitions, and that these repetitions are often incongruous; secondly, that these incongruities result from the fact that the documents represent widely different periods of development in the history of Israel.

REPETITIONS

Taking up these charges in order, it is admitted that there are numerous repetitions of laws bearing on the same subject, but it is denied that the repetitions prove that Moses was not the author. Every great teacher repeats. Every great reformer repeats. Witness Paul on the resurrection and on salvation by faith. Witness Mohammed on the unity of God and the condemnation of unbelievers. The duality,

or multiplicity, of authors cannot, then, be proven by the mere fact of repetitions.¹⁴ Nor can it be argued from the fact that we cannot see the sense, or the reason, for the repetitions. Nor can it be argued from the fact that the repetitions are exactly alike, nor from the fact that they differ. To be sure, the critics make much of their inability to account satisfactorily to themselves for many of the differences and even adduce their ignorance of the reasons for them as if it were evidence against Mosaic authorship. And yet, good and sufficient reasons for most persons are evident in some of the repetitions. For example, take the laws with regard to the altar. Might not Moses (or at least Jehovah) have foreseen that it would be several hundred years before the worship at the central sanctuary could be established and that even afterward the union of the tribes might be disrupted, so that men like Elijah might not be able to go to the central altar to sacrifice even when they would? Could a God, or a law-giver, who provided for a second passover for those who could not attend the first, and permitted a pair of turtle doves, or even a handful of flour (a bloodless offering) to be given by those who were too poor to present a kid, not be expected to authorize an altar for special cases and circumstances?¹⁵

INCONGRUITIES.

The second charge is that there are in the Pentateuch at least five principal documents representing different periods of time and different points of view; and that these differences of aim and time account for the alleged incon-

¹⁴ Numerous parallels in the Koran.

¹⁵ Nor can diversity of authorship be argued from the fact that similar events are recorded as having occurred in the life of the same or different persons. All history and romance are full of such repetitions. Herodotus records several similar attacks on Athens by the Pisistratidae and two great expeditions of the Persians against Greece. Caesar says that he built two bridges over the Rhine and that he sailed twice against Britain. Don Quixote and Don Caesar are full of repetitions. Everyone's life is full of them. So was that of Abraham; so was that of Moses.

¹⁶ Cf. 1 K. iii. 2, 3.

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gruities of the works attributed to Moses and exclude the possibility of Mosaic authorship. This charge is based upon the assumptions: (a) that Deuteronomy (D) was written in, or shortly before, 621 B.C., (b) that the real, or alleged, incongruities between the parts of the Pentateuch can be explained only by assuming a wide difference of date in the time of their composition and a series of forgeries on the part of their authors.

DATE OF DEUTERONOMY

For the assumption that Deuteronomy was written in, or shortly before, 621 B.C., there is absolutely no direct evidence. The testimony of Deuteronomy itself is that it was given by Moses in the plains of Moab. The passage in 2 Kings xxii-xxiii ascribes it to Moses (xxiii. 25). Josiah attributes the wrath of Jehovah to the fact that the fathers had not hearkened to the words of the book that had just been found and read before him (xxii. 8-13). Huldah the prophetess, represents Jehovah as saying, I will bring upon this place all the words of the book which the king of Judah hath read (xxii. 16). The elders of Judah and of Jerusalem, and the king, and all the men of Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the priests, and the prophets, and all the people, both small and great heard the words of the book of the covenant which was found in the house of the Lord and covenanted to perform the words of the covenant that were written in this book (xxiii. 1-3). Although the book of Deuteronomy contains laws affecting the king (xvii. 14 f.) and the prophets (xviii. 15 f.) and the priests (xviii. 1 f.), and although it must be admitted that kings and prophets and priests had existed in unbroken succession from the time of Samuel down to the time of Josiah, and that the kings and prophets and priests must have had the customary laws and regulations, yet no protest against the genuineness and authenticity of the newly-discovered book was made by king, or prophet, or priest. All accepted it as authoritative, and proceeded to carry its injunctions into execution (xxiii. 1-25).

Against this evidence of the documents themselves, the critics make the charge that writers of the sources of 2 Kings xxii-xxiii (that is "the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Judah," cf. xxiii. 28), the composer of the books of Kings, Hilkiah the high priest, Shaphan the scribe, Huldah, the prophetess, and Jeremiah the prophet, were either forgers or dupes; and that Deuteronomy was not a work of Moses at all, but a composite work of an unknown author put together for the purpose of deceiving the people into the acceptance of a great reform in worship. The kernel of this reform is affirmed to be the confining of the worship to the central sanctuary at Jerusalem. To be sure, the book of Deuteronomy says nothing expressly about Jerusalem. Huldah, also, does not mention it as a central sanctuary (2 Kings xxii. 15-20). The king and people, including prophets, priests and scribes, do not specifically mention a central sanctuary in their covenant with Jehovah (xxiii. 3). Jerusalem itself is mentioned, it is true in xxiii. 23, as the place where the passover was held; but according to the book of Kings, the temple at Jerusalem was to be the dwelling place of Jehovah (1 King viii. 29, ix. 3), in accordance with the promise made by God through Nathan to David (2 Samuel vii. 13). Jeremiah, who prophesied in the days of Josiah, speaks not merely of the fact that Jehovah had chosen Jerusalem to put his name there (vii. 11, 14, xxxii. 34), but also says that at the first Shiloh had been the place where the Lord had set his name (xix. 12). Not merely in the Pentateuch, but also thirty times in Joshua, once in Judges (xx. 17), sixty times in Samuel, and thirteen times in Kings, the ark is named as the centre of the worship of the people of Israel. When this ark was removed to Jerusalem by David, and not till then, did the city become the place where men ought to worship (Jer. iii. 16, 17). Moreover, that Jerusalem was recognized as the place of the central sanctuary in the time of Solomon is clear from the fact that one of the first acts of Jeroboam son of Nebat was to appoint Bethel and Dan as rival centers, so as permanently to remove

the people of Israel from the influence of the cult at Jerusalem (1 Kings xii. 28-33).

Thus neither for their general charge nor for their principal specification do the critics find any direct evidence in Deuteronomy or Kings nor in any other Old Testament document. Jeremiah, whose genuineness they acknowledge, is silent as to the general charge, but absolutely clear in his evidence against the specification with regard to the time of the organization of the central sanctuary. It is time for the body of intelligent Christian believers, who are deemed capable of sitting on juries in a court of common law, to assert themselves against these self-styled scholars who would wrest from them the right of private judgment. For in the settlement of this question no special scholarship is involved—no knowledge of Hebrew or philosophy. The English version affords all the facts. The evidence is clear. On the face of it, it is all against the critics. Only by throwing out the evidence of the very document on which they rely for the proof of their own theory and by placing a childish confidence in what remains, can they find any support for their destructive views.¹⁷

THE FOUR CODES OF LAW

The critics charge that the incongruities which they allege are to be found between the code of the covenant (E) and Deuteronomy (D), and the Law of Holiness (H), and the priestly codex (P), are due to the fact that E represents the law as it existed prior to 700 B.C., D a law written about 621 B.C., H a law written about 600 B.C., and P a law written mostly before the events recorded in Neh. viii-x. Since the direct evidence of the documents themselves is against this fourfold date and ascribes all four documents to Moses, the critics have undertaken the difficult task of proving that these laws constitute a series of forgeries, extending over a

¹⁷ For good discussions of the origin of Deuteronomy, see Möller: *Are the Critics Right?*; Finn: *The Unity of the Pentateuch*; McKim: *The Problem of the Pentateuch*; Orr: *The Problem of the Old Testament*; and Green: *The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch*.

period of about 500 years, committed by more than seventeen different persons, all reformers of the highest ethical standards and all devoted to the service of Jehovah, the God of truth. Besides *mirabile dictu*, the forgeries were all successful in that prophets, priests, Levites, kings, and people, were all alike induced to receive them as genuine and to adopt them as obligatory, as soon as they were made known to them. The Jews and the Samaritans, the Pharisees and the Sadducees, the Rabbis, Aristas, Josephus, Philo, Christ and the Apostles, all accepted the combined work as of real Mosaic authorship. But no amount of camouflage could deceive the critical eyes of the German professors and their scholars (all of whom agree with them; hence the phrase, "All scholars are agreed"). To them the imperfections of the codes and their disagreements, yes, even the particular half century in which each law was promulgated, are as clear as the spots on the sun, if only you will look through their glasses, and are not blinded by prejudice occasioned by faith in Jehovah, or Christ, or by the rules of evidence. Now, whether those who believe in Jehovah and Christ are blinded by prejudice, or not, it seems obvious that they who profess to believe in both cannot be expected without stultification to ignore the testimony of all the documents that Jehovah himself was the real author of the laws, Moses being merely his mouthpiece, or prophet. This testimony cannot be set aside in the case of the laws without being set aside also in the case of the prophets. There is no more ground for calling it a form of speech in the one case than in the other. And if Jehovah did speak the laws and command the people to obey them, it must seem reasonable to suppose that He at least thought that they were harmonious. Christians, also, and professedly Christian professors need make no excuse for the prejudice that this testimony of the documents themselves is confirmed for them (however it may be with infidels) by the attestation of the New Testament writers and of the Lord Jesus Christ. But whether Christians or infidels, we should all be bound strictly by

a prejudice in favor of the rules of evidence. Binding ourselves, then, to abide by the evidence, let us proceed to state the evidence for the defense in the case of the critics against Moses.

First, we find that in every one of the legal documents of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, the superscription as in Num. xv, xix, xxxv, and in the case of all the longer collections such as Ex. xx-xxiv, xxv-xxxi, Lev. i-vii, xvii-xxvi, and Deuteronomy, and many of the smaller collections such as Ex. xii. 1-28, xxxiv, Lev. viii, xiii, xvi, xxvii, Num. i, ii, iv, vi. 1-21, viii. 1-4, 5-22, xxvii. 6-23, xxviii-xxix, xxx, the subscriptions also expressly attribute their authorship to Moses. In many cases the locality and the time in which these codes, or special laws, were given are specified. Thus, Ex. xii was given in Egypt in the first part of the first month (vs. 1, 3); Ex. xix-xxiv, at Sinai in the third month of the first year of the Exodus (Ex. xix. 1, 11); Deuteronomy, in the land of Moab, on the first day of the eleventh month of the fortieth year (i. 1, 3, 5). In other cases as in Lev. xvii-xxvi and Ex. xxv-xxxi, the place at least is expressly stated. Here, then, are twenty separate documents all ascribed to Moses in the proper place and manner with dates and places affixed.

Secondly, we find that the variations in the form, treatment and subject-matter of the laws support the claim that Moses was the author. Some of the laws as Lev. xi-xiii, treat of but one subject; others as Ex. xxxiv treat of several subjects: and others as Lev. xvii-xxvi and Deuteronomy may be dignified with the name of code. Some of them as Lev. xvi are so constructed that scarcely a verse could be omitted without marring the effect of the whole, whereas, others are composed of many parts, each distinct in its purpose, but all necessary to the carrying out of the laws of its remaining parts.¹⁸ Moreover, the laws of the covenant of JE in Ex. xx-xxiv and the epitome in xxxiv. 1-26, and

¹⁸ Again, the persons addressed differ. In the codes it is the whole people who are enjoined whereas the laws of P affect ordinarily only certain classes or individuals, such as priests, lepers, and Nazarites.

the codes of H and D are mostly a collection of short injunctions more or less disconnected and without specification as to how they are to be carried out, whereas the laws in P are generally entirely separated from other laws, are detailed in their regulations and embrace many matters not discussed, or barely mentioned in the codes of JE, D and P. To this difference in treatment and details corresponds also a difference in literary form. The laws of JE, D and H are codal in form and resemble the prototype set by the code of Hammurabi in that they have lengthy prologues or epilogues; D and H containing at the end, just like the Babylonian code, a large number of curses upon those who should disobey their injunctions. The laws of leprosy vary according to the subject of which they treat. As to the laws of P there is an analogy to the law of leprosy in the birth-omens,¹⁹ and we may infer from the frequent references of Nabunaid to the necessity of discovering the corner-stone of the temples originally built by Naram-Sin, Hammurabi, and others of his predecessors, that these temens or corner-stones contained detailed plans for the construction of the houses of the gods, corresponding to the plan of the tabernacle in Ex. xxv-xxx. The narrative in Ex. xxxvi-xl of the manner in which this plan was carried out under the direction of Bezaleel is paralleled, also, in many respects by the account in the autobiography of the Erpa Tehuti, the director of the artificers of the temples, and shrines of Hatshepsut, who according to most Egyptologists was queen of Egypt two centuries before the times of Moses.²⁰ The form of the numeration of Num. i-iv bears many resemblances to those of the Annals of Tahutmes III.²¹ The boundaries of the land given in Num. xxxiv resemble closely similar forms in Egypt.²² The form of the ceremonies of the day

¹⁹ See the *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geburts-Omina*, by Ludwig Dennefeld, Leipzig, 1914.

²⁰ Budge: *The Literature of the Egyptians*, London, 1914, p. 145.

²¹ Petrie: *History of Egypt*, II, 103f.

²² Hinke: *A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadnezzar I*, and the tablet from the time of Hammurabi in KB, IV, 17.

of atonement in Lev. xvi may be compared with the Ritual of the Divine Cult,²³ and the laws of issues, jealousy, and the red heifer (Lev. xv, Num. v, xix) with the Ritual of Embalmment.^{23a} That minute directions for the conduct of sacrifices, similar to those in Lev. i-vii, must have been in use among the Egyptians is evident from the Liturgy of Funerary Offerings found in the Pyramid Texts;²⁴ as also from the Liturgy of the Opening of the Mouth.²⁵ That detailed directions for the selection and clothing of priests like those in Leviticus must have existed among the Egyptians is to be seen in the Liturgy of the Opening of the Mouth,²⁶ and the form of the regulations of Leviticus has a parallel in the inscription of Agum-Kakrimi (1350 B. C.) which describes the dress of Merodach and Sarpanit (KB, III, I, 135f.).

We thus see that the various forms in which the sections of the law are preserved to us in the Pentateuch are paralleled in almost every instance by the forms of laws to be found in known documents of ancient Babylon and Egypt dating from 1000 to 4000(?) B. C. And what in general is true of the form is true also of the contents of the laws. The civil and criminal laws of E, D, and H, bear a striking resemblance to those found in the Code of Hammurabi.²⁷ The moral precepts find their prototype and often their parallels in the maxims of Ptah-hotep (3000 B. C.), and in the moral precepts of the 125th chapter of the Book of the Dead.²⁸ As to the ceremonial laws it can be claimed that the elaborate, lengthy, and intricate, systems of worship centering around the numerous temples of the polytheistic Babylonians and Egyptians make the system of worship and

²³ Budge: *op. cit.* p. 248.

^{23a} *Id.* 247.

²⁴ Budge, *op. cit.* 16.

²⁵ *Id.* 13.

²⁶ *Id.* p. 14.

²⁷ See especially Müller: *Die Gesetze Hammurabis* and Kohler: *Hammurabi's Gesetz*.

²⁸ 18th Dynasty or earlier. Budge, *Egyptian Literature* 52, 224.

religious observances enjoined in H and P seem in comparison models of clearness, simplicity, and ease in execution.

In the third place, the laws of Moses, as Emil Reich has so well argued, demand a single great originator. Granting a great man like Moses, possessed of the monotheistic idea, and the fabric of the tabernacle, with the priesthood, and the sacrifices, and the sacred seasons, and the laws of holiness, and the covenants between the holy people and their unique God, rises before us as naturally as the constitution of the imperial Caesars from the mind of Augustus, or the religion of Islam from the life of the Arabian prophet, or the Christian Church from the life and death and precepts of its Founder. It was the idea of God which Moses had that was the spring of his activities, the source and unifier of his thoughts and laws. No one can deny that the idea of a unique God was first obtained from the Israelites nor that their literature always ascribes the first clear and full apprehension of this idea to Moses. How much of it he got from his meditations beneath the desert skies and how much by the direct revelation of the all-wise and all-powerful Jehovah, may be questioned; but that he had it, is the concurrent testimony of J and E and D and H and P and of all Jewish literature in legislation, history, and song. Prophets, priests, kings, poets, and people,—all had this great idea, and all unite in saying that they derived it from Moses. And whatever Israelites were the first to be possessed with the Old Testament idea of an only God, let us remember, that some Israelite certainly must have been thus possessed, seeing that the idea is to be found in ancient literature in the Old Testament and there alone. What more natural, then, than that the great thinker who first grasped the idea in its fulness should have found a revolution wrought in the whole system of his thinking. The universe with all its rolling years, the sun, the moon, the stars, the earth with its seas and islands, its plants and living creatures, must all be correlated to the great I AM, who made them all.

But the most engrossing subject of his thought must have been man in his relation to the earth and God and sin and death and redemption. And so he gathers up the history and the traditions of the past and centers the whole about the idea of a promise and the covenants, the covenant with Adam, the covenant with Noah, and the covenant with Abraham. And when God makes a covenant with the people of Israel through him as mediator he sets all his mind and energies to work to enable the people to observe their part of the covenant until the star should arise out of Jacob and he whose right it is, that prophet like unto himself, should come, whom Israel should hear, and to whom should be the obedience of the nations. And with this great thought in mind he sets himself to work to separate the Israelites from all the surrounding nations and from the polytheistic nations which had ruled them in the past. He takes the two great conceptions of natural religion, holiness and righteousness,²⁹ and seeks to separate them from their idolatrous associations and to raise them to a higher ethical and religious plane in the service of the one, ever-living, and true God.

As for a language and a literary form in which to express his thoughts, he did not have to invent them. They were already there.³⁰ All he had to do was to infuse new meaning into the old vehicles of thought, as in later times the New Testament writers did with the vocables of Greece, and Mohammed with those of the Arabs.³¹

As for the festivals, there were already plenty of them in use among the Babylonians and Egyptians and doubtless among the Israelites themselves,—New Year, and New Moons, and Sabbaths. He simply had to take the old seasons and sanctify them to better purposes.³² Sacrifices there

²⁹ צדק and קדש.

³⁰ We have shown this already for the latter. As to the existence of the Hebrew language before the time of Moses, it is abundantly shown in the proper names of the inscriptions of the times of Hammurabi, Tahutmes III and Amenophis IV.

³¹ *E.g.* in the case of *hanif*.

³² It is not meant that some entirely new festivals may not have been added.

also were and altars and priests. He brings them all into ordered harmony with his idea of holiness and righteousness in the service of Jehovah. Ethics there were. He gives them the sanction of the divine command, and approval. Customs there were, laws of clean and unclean food, laws of jealousy, and revenge and disease and personal uncleanness, and fringes on garments, and tattooing, and vows and inheritances, and slavery and marriage. He brings all into his all embracing scheme and makes them all subserve the one great purpose of bringing and keeping the people in obedience to their covenant God. Requirements and observances were multiplied until it was impossible for the people not to sin; but for the sins there was atonement and for the sinners, substitution, redemption and forgiveness, of a God that was long-suffering and gracious, plenteous in mercy, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, though he would by no means spare the guilty.³³

Fourthly, against this *prima facie* case in favor of the Mosaic origin of the laws and against the life of Moses and the history of Israel as recorded in the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy, the critics bring a general charge and a number of specifications. The general charge is that the Pentateuch was not the work of Moses, but that it, together with the book of Joshua, is a compilation of the works of seventeen, or more, authors and of laws and traditions of little historic value gathered together during a period of five or six hundred years from 800 or 900 B. C. to 300 B. C. Inasmuch as no claim is made in Genesis or Joshua that they are the works of Moses, we claim the privilege (without precluding or prejudicing the right of Moses to be considered the author of Genesis) of confining for the present discussion the defense of Mosaic authorship to the four last books of the Pentateuch. And, as the charge involves not merely the question of the authorship, but the

³³ That is, those who refused the means of grace or willfully disobeyed his commands, like the man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath day, or Korah, Dathan and Abiram.

much more important question of the historicity of the books we shall discuss at length this fundamental question of authorship.

AUTHORSHIP. It must then, clearly be defined what exactly is meant by Mosaic *authorship*. Certainly, it cannot mean that to be the author Moses must have written his literary works with his own hand. Else, would Prescott not be the author of the Conquest of Mexico, nor Milton of Paradise Lost, nor the kings of Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, and Persia, of their inscriptions, nor Jesus of the Sermon on the Mount. Lest this statement should seem too naïve, let us recall that a favorite and reiterated, traditional argument of the critics against Mosaic authorship is based on the fact that it is said that he was charged by God to write the curse against Amalek and an account of the wanderings in the wilderness (Ex. xvii. 14, Num. xxxiii. 2). Besides these small portions of the narrative, he is said expressly to have written the code of the covenant in Exodus xx-xxiv, and a portion at least of Deuteronomy.³⁴ In fact it may reasonably be inferred from Deut. xxxi. 9, 24-26, iv. 44, 1, 5, xxviii. 58, 61, xxix. 20, 26, and other passages, that the whole Pentateuch, or at least all of the legal portions, was intended by the writers of these passages to have been designated as the work of Moses.

But even if he did not write a word with his own hand, it is evident that whoever wrote the book, meant to imply that the authorship of Moses extends to the laws and visions and commands which God gave to him in the same manner that the Code of Hammurabi was the work of the king whose name it bears. That is, the laws came through him and from him. This is the fundamental authorship for which we contend, and which we claim to have been unimpeached by all the testimony that has been produced, in the endeavor to impair our belief that as John says: The law was given by Moses.

³⁴ See Dr. Green on the Pentateuch, p. 37.

The case then, as it stands, is as follows. The documents of the Tetrateuch state that Moses at expressly stated places and times wrote, or caused to be written³⁵, certain parts of them. The critics charge that these statements of the documents are all false. What proof have they to substantiate this charge?

MOSES WROTE

First, they allege that "Moses wrote" in these passages is not a forgery, but simply a technical expression, or form of speech. But what evidence have they for this allegation? None whatever; but on the contrary, the evidence of the other books of the Old Testament is all against it. Thus in the book of Joshua, the earlier legislation is invariably attributed to Moses,^{35a} and the new regulations are ascribed to Joshua himself.³⁶ So in Samuel, the old laws are ascribed to Moses and the new ones to Samuel.³⁷ So in Kings, Solomon regulates his kingdom and Jeroboam the son of Nebat regulates the worship of Israel with laws that are never ascribed to Moses, but to the kings themselves, who are represented as departing in large measure from the law of God already known (1 Kings viii-xi; xii. 25-33; xiv. 7-16). So in Chronicles David divides the priests and Levites and writes out the pattern of the temple. Jehoshaphat himself gives laws, and sets judges in the land, and gives them charge as to their duties (2 Chron. xix. 5-11), and proclaims a fast without reference to the laws of Moses; and Hezekiah sets the Levites according to the commandment of David (2 Chron. xxix. 25-27). In Nehemiah, the singers and the porters keep the ward of their God according to the commandment of David and of Solomon his son (Neh. xii. 45).³⁸ Moreover, is it not marvelous that no example has been

³⁵ The verbs may be pointed as Hiphil.

^{35a} i. 7, xx. 1, xxiii. 6.

³⁶ xxiv. 26.

³⁷ 1 Sam. viii. 6-22.

³⁸ Whenever Chronicles and Nehemiah were written, their testimony shows that their writers did not know anything about a legal fiction ascribing all laws to Moses.

found in pre-Christian literature of the ascription to Moses of a law not found in the Pentateuch? You may be sure that if one such were known it would have been proclaimed by the traducers of the unity of the Pentateuch with a blare of trumpets, for it would be the unique specimen of direct evidence bearing on their alleged common use of the phrase to denote non-Mosaic authorship, a sort of *lucus* from *non-lucendo* argument. But no. Tobit has his hero burn the fish's liver at the command of an angel, not according to a law of Moses. The Zadokite fragments never ascribe their additions to the Pentateuchal laws to Moses. Therefore, let those who allege that the phrase "the Lord said to Moses" is a legal fiction produce some evidence or let the indictment of the claim of the laws of the Pentateuch to Mosaic authorship be dropped. May not some later writer by mistake or intention have ascribed even one law not found in the Pentateuch to Moses? We know of none.

Again, we find that no law of the four books from Exodus to Deuteronomy inclusive is, in the Pentateuch, or anywhere else in the pre-Christian Jewish literature, attributed to anyone but Moses. The modern critic asserts that the laws called Mosaic were not given by him but that they were written by at least seventeen different authors and redactors; and yet not one of these critics can mention the name of even one of these seventeen. To be sure, some of them have assumed that Hilkiyah forged the portion of Deuteronomy which, according to the accounts in Kings and Chronicles (the only sources of our information on the subject) Hilkiyah himself attributed to Moses. And we find that some have alleged that Ezekiel *may* have written the Code of Holiness in Lev. xvii-xxvi, but Ezekiel who is never backward about affixing his name to his other works, unfortunately for the critics, abstained from doing so to the work under consideration.

Again some have asserted that Ezra may have written P or even have composed the whole Pentateuch; but here again they draw on their imagination for their facts, since

the books of Ezra and Nehemiah both state clearly that Zerubbabel and Ezra and Nehemiah established in Jerusalem the laws and institutions that had been given by God to Israel through Moses.³⁹

WHERE MOSES WROTE

In the next place, all the laws of the Pentateuch attributed to Moses are either expressly, or impliedly, said in the record to have been given at certain *places*, that is, either in Egypt, or somewhere on the way from Egypt to the Jordan. This evidence, as to the localities in which the documents were written, so important in establishing the genuineness of any document, is almost absolutely ignored by the assailants of Mosaic authorship. What kind of a lawyer would he be who attacked or defended the genuineness of a letter without considering whether the locality where it was written was mentioned and whether paper, ink, language, and contents, harmonized with the alleged place of its production? Now it is said that the following sections of the law were commanded in the localities cited, to wit: Ex. xii. in Egypt (Ex. xii. 1), Ex. xix-xxiv, xxv-xxxi., and xxxiv, at the mountain; Lev. i-vii, in the wilderness of Sinai; Ex. xix. 1, 2, 3, 20, xxiv. 12, 13, 16, xxxi. 18, xxxiv. 2, 29, Lev. vii. 38, xxv. 1, xxvi. 46, xxvii. 34 Num. i. 1 iii. 1, ix. 1, out of the tabernacle of the congregation (Lev. i. 1). Others are preceded by the phrases: after they had left Egypt (Lev. xi. 45, xxii. 33,

³⁹ Thus, according to Ezra iii. 3, Jeshua and Zerubbabel built the altar, "as it is written in the law of Moses," and offered sacrifices and set the priests and the Levites in their offices "as it is written in the book of Moses," (vi. 18). According to Neh. viii. 1, 3, Ezra the scribe brought and read the book of the law of Moses, which the Lord had commanded to Israel. And in vs. 14, we are told that they "found written in the law which the Lord had commanded by Moses" certain laws with regard to the feast of Tabernacles. In ix. 3, it is said that the book of the law of God was read and it is acknowledged in vs. 34 that the kings and princes and fathers had not kept the law. But the people covenanted (x. 29) to walk in God's law which was given by Moses the servant of God. Again, in xiii. 1, we are told that "they read in the book of Moses." On the other hand, the service of song is said to have been reinstituted after the ordinance of David, king of Israel (Ezra iii. 10).

xxiii. 43, xxv. 55, Num. xxv. 41); from the camp (Lev. xxiv. 23, Num. v. 2); when ye come into the land (Num. xv. 2, 18, xxxiii. 51, xxxiv. 2, Deut. xxvi. 1, xxvii. 2); while they were in the wilderness (Num. xv. 32); in the plains of Moab (Num. xxvi. 3, 63, xxvii. 3 [by implication] xxxi. 1, xxxvi. 13, Deut. i. 5, xxix. 1).

Now, the critics adverse to Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch have been sharp enough to see that if they can throw doubt upon the accuracy of the documents with regard to these places, they will impugn the veracity of the accounts. So, after a hundred and fifty years of diligent search they find one apparent flaw. It seems that E and D use Horeb in place of the Sinai of J and P as the locality of the giving of the law. Horeb is said to be the designation of the mountain of God used in the northern part of Palestine where E is assumed to have been written and Sinai that used in Judah, where J and P were written. But the critics fail to attempt even to show why D, a document of the southern kingdom, should have followed E instead of J, and why P should have failed to harmonize this alleged discrepancy, or even to have remarked upon it. Perhaps, the simplest and most obvious explanation is the best. Horeb and Sinai were in a sense the same, just as the Apalachian chain and the Alleghany Mountains and Chestnut Ridge are the same. I was born near the Chestnut Ridge of the Alleghany Mountains of the Apalachian Chain. In Europe I might speak of the Appalachian Mountains as my birthplace; in California, of the Alleghanies; in Western Pennsylvania, of the Chestnut Ridge. But I was born in only one place. So, as Hengstenberg long ago said,⁴⁰ "at a distance the mountain of God was called Horeb; near at hand, it was called Sinai, or once possibly Horeb."⁴¹ The use of mountain before Horeb is no proof that it was a single eminence and not a ridge; for Mount Ephraim was "the hill country of Ephraim" or as

⁴⁰ *On the Genuineness of the Pentateuch*, II, 327.

⁴¹ Ex. xxxiii. 6, in a passage of which Dr. Driver said: "No satisfactory analysis has been effected," LOT. 38.

Hastings Dictionary says⁴², "the mountain ridge in Central Palestine stretching N. to S. from the Great Plain to the neighborhood of Jerusalem."

WHEN MOSES WROTE

But lastly, not merely are all of the documents of the Tetrateuch (with the exception of a few ascribed to Aaron) ascribed to Moses, and the place where most of them originated indicated, many of them are *dated* as to year, month, and day. The critics quietly ignore these dates. They would possibly attribute them to the cunning of the forger, and assert that they were inserted with the express purpose of giving to the documents in which they occur the appearance of verisimilitude. Think of a counsel arguing before a court that the fact that a document—a will, a contract, a letter, a cheque—was correctly dated was *prima facie* evidence, not that it was genuine, but that it was a forgery! Let the critics show at least that the dates are not in the form of dates used in the time of Moses. But this they cannot do. But, on the other hand, it can be shown that in every particular the dates are of the same form as those that were used before 1500 B. C. There are two full forms of dates in the Pentateuch. The first, gives the order of day, month, year, as in Num. i. 1; "the first day of the 2nd month of the 2nd year after their going out from Egypt"; and the second, the order of year, month, day, as in Num. x. 11, "in the 2nd year, in the 2nd month, in the 20th day of the month" and Deut. i. 3, "in the 40th year in the 11th month on the first day of the month" and Num. xxxiii. 38, "in the fortieth year of the going out of the children of Israel from the land of Egypt in the fifth month on the first day of the month." The distinguishing feature of these two systems of dating is that the former puts the year last and the latter the year first. The first system was used in Babylon and Nineveh from the earliest documents down to the latest and the second system was used in Egypt in

⁴² Vol. I, p. 727.

like manner from the earliest dynasties down to the time of the Ptolomies. Thus "in the month Ab, the 22nd day, in the year after king Rim-Sin had conquered Isin";⁴³ "in the month Ayar, day 20, of the year after king Samsuiluna, etc.";⁴⁴ "in the month Shebat the 14th day, the second year after the destruction of Kiš."^{45 46} It will be noted that in every particular but one the dating of Num. i. 1 is like the datings from the time of Abraham. This particular is that Numbers puts the day before the month. This, however, was a usual departure of the Hebrew writers in using the Babylonian system. Jer. lii. 12 is the only place in the Old Testament where we find the order month, day, year. In Hag. i. 15; ii. 10; Zech. i. 7; and Ezra vi. 15, all from post-captivity times, we find the order day, month, year, as in Num. i. 1. In all of these post-captivity writings the name of the king is given exactly as we find it on the Babylonian documents from the time of Nebuchadnezzar II; whereas in Num. i. 1, the dating is "after the going out of Egypt" just as in the earliest Babylonian documents.

Examples of the Egyptian system of dating are to be found in numerous places in Petrie's *History of Egypt*,⁴⁷ in Breasted's *Ancient Records*,⁴⁸ and in the *Oxyrynchus Papyri*.⁴⁹ It is worthy of note, also, that the phrase "after the going out from Egypt" is paralleled in many cases in the earliest Egyptian records.⁵⁰ The Egyptian system is the one used commonly in the Old Testament by the writers who wrote before the return from Babylonia, and occasionally by those who wrote after 550 B. C. Thus we find the order year, month, day in Jer. xxxix. 2; xii. 4, 31; Ezek. i. 1;

⁴³ Schorr: *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil-und Prozessrechts*, p. 53.

⁴⁴ *Id.* 153.

⁴⁵ *Id.* 214.

⁴⁶ These kings lived in or about the time of Hammurabi. See also Schorr, p. 249, 328, 416 for other examples.

⁴⁷ *E.g.* II, 67, 100-103.

⁴⁸ *E.g.* I, 137, 139, 140, 145, 160, etc.

⁴⁹ *E.g.* I, 170, 178, etc.

⁵⁰ Breasted *loc. cit.* I, 54.

viii. 1; xxiv. 1; xxix. 1, 11; xxx. 20; xxxi. 1; xxxii. 1; xxxiii. 21; and Hag. i. 1; and the order year, day, month in Ezek. xx. 1; xxvi. 1; xxxii. 17; xl. 1; Zech. vii. 1.

We see, therefore, from the above evidence that of the four full datings in the Pentateuch three follow the Egyptian system and one the Babylonian. Of the three following the Egyptian system one is in the prologue to D⁵¹ and two are in P.⁵² The one in Num. i. 1 follows the Babylonian order and belongs also to P. But the clause affixed (i.e. after the going out from Egypt) resembles the dates from the Hammurabi dynasty and not those from the time of Nebuchadnezzar or later. So that in respect to dates, as well as in respect to names and places, we find that the genuineness of the documents of the Pentateuch cannot be successfully assailed.

CONCLUSION

In regard to no one of these great *prima facie* marks of genuineness in documents—names, places, dates—have the destructive critics been able to show that the Pentateuch is false. As to these three specifications of the indictment, the assured result of scientific criticism, in strict adherence to the law of evidence, is that Moses gave the laws which have his name at the times and places indicated in the documents attributed to him as the mouthpiece of Jehovah. Why do the critics rage and the professors imagine a vain thing?

C. THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

Having thus shown by three examples taken from the documents of the Pentateuch that from a *prima facie* point of view these documents are substantiated by the evidence from the forms of contemporary documents and by the evidence as to their author and as to the times, places, and contents of their composition, we shall proceed to consider the attacks of the the critics upon the text,

⁵¹ i. 3.

⁵² Num. xi. 11; xxxiii. 38; both assigned in LOT. to P.

the grammar, vocabulary and contents of the documents of the Old Testament, on the basis of whose "assured results" they seek to establish their reconstruction of the literature and history of the people of Israel.

In the remainder of this article we shall confine ourselves to the *text* and shall endeavor to show that in view of the evidence bearing upon its origin and transmission the Hebrew text of the Massoretic Bible now in our possession is substantially reliable. In this and the succeeding discussions, we shall seek to follow without prejudice the laws of evidence as laid down in Sir James Stephen's *Digest of the Law of Evidence* insofar as they relate to documents. Where the evidence is already published and accessible to all, we shall merely refer our readers to the works containing the evidence. In cases where new evidence bearing on the subject can be produced we shall go more largely into particulars in order to show the grounds for our statements. As it will be impossible within the limits of an article such as this to give all the items of evidence, numerous citations of the sources of the testimony will be given; since it is the purpose of the writer to remove the discussion as far as possible from the field of subjective opinion to that of objective reality.

In the space at our disposal, it will be impossible to do more than suggest the reasons why we think that the charges against the general reliability of the Massoretic text cannot be supported by the evidence, that is, by the "documents produced for the inspection of the Judges,"⁵⁴ and by the opinion of experts which may be called evidence as to what the evidence of the documents really is.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ See for this definition of "evidence," Sir James Fitzjames Stephen's work *A Digest of the Law of Evidence*, p. 3. He defines evidence as "documents produced for the inspection of the Court or Judge." In this case of the critics against Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, every intelligent reader may consider himself the Court and judge and jury.

⁵⁵ The fact that a person is of the opinion that a fact in issue, or

TESTIMONY OF EXPERTS NECESSARY

The testimony of experts as to what the evidence really is, is especially necessary as to all subjects requiring special study or experience, such as all matters of science and art.⁵⁶ "It is a general rule of evidence that witnesses must give evidence of *facts*, not of *opinions*."⁵⁷ But "facts, not otherwise relevant, are deemed to be relevant if they support or are inconsistent with the opinions of experts, when such opinions are deemed to be relevant." "Whenever the opinion of any living person is deemed to be relevant, the grounds on which such opinion is based are also deemed to be relevant," and "an expert may give an account of experiments performed by him for the purpose of forming his opinions."⁵⁸

In fact, in questions of philology and history it is the experiments, i.e. the investigations of the original sources, which afford the grounds for the opinions of the expert, that are the most important part of his evidence; for they give the facts on which his conclusions are based. If the experiments or investigations have been faulty, either from an incomplete induction of the facts, or from a wrong

relevant or deemed to be relevant to the issue, does or does not exist is deemed to be irrelevant to the existence of such fact, except when "there is a question as to any point of science or art." When such a question arises, "the opinions upon that point of persons especially skilled in any such matter are deemed to be relevant facts."

⁵⁶ Science and art "include all subjects on which a course of special study or experience is necessary to the formation of an opinion." Persons thus qualified are called "experts." "The opinion as to the existence of the facts on which his [*i.e.* the expert's] opinion is to be given is irrelevant unless he perceived them himself."

⁵⁷ Italics in Stephen. He says further: "An expert may not only testify to opinions, but may state general facts which are the result of scientific knowledge." "The unwritten or common law of other states or countries may be proved by expert testimony." Genuine writings "may be used for comparison by the jury" or "by experts to aid the jury." "Experts in hand-writing may also testify to other matters, as *e.g.*, whether a writing is forged or altered, when a writing was probably made, etc."

⁵⁸ See Stephen's *Digest*, 100-112. The words not in quotation marks and the italicizing are due to the present writer.

interpretation of them, the grounds, or reasons, or opinions, based on the facts will also be faulty.

IMPORTANCE OF A CORRECT TEXT

In the case, therefore, of a literary document the first fact to investigate and establish is the original text of the document, and the second is the meaning of that text. When the original text can be produced, the correct interpretation of it is the principal matter, unless charges of interpolation are made. If, however, the original document cannot be produced, certified copies of the original, or copies approximating as nearly as possible to the original, may be introduced as evidence, and will have value for all parties to a controversy in proportion as they are recognized as genuine copies of the original. It is this fact that makes the question of the transmission of the text of the Old Testament fundamental to all discussions based upon the evidence of that text. Only in so far as we can establish a true copy of the original text shall we have before us reliable evidence for our inspection and interpretation. In regard to the Old Testament therefore, the first question to determine is whether we have a reliable copy of the original text. To this question the answer of the experts must be an unhesitating admission that in the text of our common Hebrew Bibles, corrected here and there especially by the evidence of the ancient versions and through the evidence from palaeography, we have substantially the original text. That is, we have it with sufficient accuracy to be reliable as evidence on all great questions of doctrine, law, and history. In support of this opinion, we shall in accordance with p. 54 of Stephen's *Digest*, give the following grounds, with the statement of the investigations on which they are based.

I. DIRECT EVIDENCE FOR TEXT

1. An examination of the Hebrew manuscripts now in existence shows that in the whole Old Testament there are scarcely any variants except in the use of the full and

defective writing of the vowels.⁵⁹ This carries us back to about the year 916 A. D., the date of the oldest MS. of any large part of the Hebrew Bible.

2. The Massorites have left to us the variants which they gathered and we find that they amount altogether to about 1200, less than one for each page of the printed Hebrew Bible.^{59a}

3. The various Aramaic versions (or Targums), the Syriac Peshitto, the Samaritan version, and the Latin Vulgate support with slight variations the present text.⁶⁰

4. The numerous citations in the New Testament, Josephus, Philo, and the Zadokite Fragments carry us back to the year 40 to 100 A. D. These citations show that those who used them had our present text with but slight variations. The numerous citations in the Hebrew of the Zadokite Fragments are especially valuable as a confirmation of the Hebrew text of Amos and other books cited.⁶¹

⁵⁹ See the collection of DeRossi and of Holmes and Parsons.

^{59a} These variants are to be found on the bottom margin of the printed Hebrew Bible.

⁶⁰ See my comparison of the Hebrew and Peshitto texts of Chronicles in the *Pres. and Ref. Review* for 1894. A comparison of the proper names of the Hebrew original and the Syriac version shows hundreds of variations of sight, largely between *r* and *d*, *n* and *y*, and *k* and *b*; hundreds more of variations due to sound, as *sh* and *s*, *z* and *s*, *d* and *t*, *d* and *z*, *b* and *m*, *b* and *p*, *m* and *n*, *l* and *r*, *n* and *l*, *n* and *r* (very uncommon), *a*, *y*, *m*, or *r*, or *k*, with gutturals, and palatals, inter-changing in almost every possible way. One great peculiarity of the Peshitto is the frequency with which the proper names are translated and the large number of cases of the transposition of letters. This statement is based on a collection of the variation of the proper names of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, made and possessed by myself in manuscript. There are over two thousand variants in this collection. The Samaritan Targum scarcely varies at all in sense from the Samaritan-Hebrew original. Its variants are mostly in the gutturals which are used almost indiscriminately. This statement is based upon a concordance made by myself with the assistance of Prof. Jesse L. Cotton, D.D., Rev. Robert Robinson, and Rev. C. D. Brokenshire. The variations of Jerome's version arose mostly from a vowel pointing different from the Massoretic. The textual variations of the Targums are similar to those of the Hebrew manuscripts and of the Massoretic readings. See Cappelus: *Critica Sacra* II, 858-892.

⁶¹ Thus we find that the Zadokite Fragments cite the canonical books

5. The Septuagint version, the citations of Ecclesiasticus, the Book of Jubilees, and other pre-Christian literature, carry us back to about 300 B. C.⁶²

6. For the Pentateuch, the present Samaritan-Hebrew text (which has been transmitted for 2300 years or more, by copyists adverse to Rabbinical and Massoretic in-

226 times; 13 times from Genesis, 7 Ex., 29 Lev., 20 Num., 23 Deut. (92 Pentateuch); 3 Joshua, 3 Judges, 6 Samuel, 2 Kings, 30 Is., 9 Jer., 16 Etek., 9 Hos., 2 Amos, 1 Ob., 7 Mi., 1 Na., 3 Zech., 4 Mal. (Minor Prophets 27); 13 Ps., 1 Ru., 10 Prov., 3 Job, 1 Lam., 1 Est., 4 Dan., 2 Ezra, 1 Nah., 3 Chron. Some of these citations agree exactly with the consonants of our *textus receptus*; some differ slightly, some considerably; but they all indicate that the present text is substantially the same as that which was in existence when the book of Zadok was written. That Philo had the text of our Old Testament before him will be manifest to anyone who reads a page or two of Ryle's *Philo and Holy Scripture*, which gives Philo's citations from the canonical books of the Jews. For the New Testament, Toy's work on New Testament Quotations, shows plainly the same thing. As for Josephus, he himself claims that his *Antiquities* is based on the sacred writings of the Israelites and the writings demonstrate the truth of his statement.

⁶² The differences between the Hebrew Massoretic text and the Greek Septuagint are often grossly exaggerated. The vast majority of them arise merely from a difference of pointing of the same consonantal text. The real variants arose from errors of sight such as those between *r* and *d*, *k* and *b*, *y* and *w*, or from errors of sound such as between gutturals, labials, palatals, sibilants, and dentals. There is a goodly number of transpositions, some dittographies, many additions or omissions, sometimes of significant consonants, but almost all in unimportant words and phrases. Most of the additions seem to have been for elucidation of the original. In the case of Jeremiah we have in the Greek a recension which excludes many recurrent phrases. It may be compared with the Babylonian and Aramaic recension of the Behistun inscription as contrasted with the Persian and Susian. While substantially the same, they vary in many particulars.—For the Old Testament citations and allusions of Ben-Sira, see my article on "The Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus" in the *Pres. and Ref. Review* for 1900.—For the Book of Jubilees, see the collection of variants by R. H. Charles in the *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* of the Old Testament, II. 5, 6. Prof. Charles has gathered only 25 variants, 8 of single consonants, 1 of transposition of words, 9 of omission of a word and 1 of a phrase, 2 cases of change of gender, 1 of number, and 3 inexplicable corruptions. The result of his investigation is a wonderful corroboration of the substantial correctness of our present Hebrew text.

fluences) agrees substantially with the received text of our Hebrew Bibles. Most of the variants are the same in character as those which we find in the transmission of all originals and especially in the transmission of our Hebrew text itself.⁶³ This carries the text back at the latest to about 400 B. C.

7. The Hebrew Scriptures contain the names of 26 or more foreign kings whose names have been found on documents contemporary with the kings. The names of most of these kings are found to be spelled on their own monuments, or in documents from the time in which they reigned in the same manner that they are spelled in the documents of the Old Testament. The changes in the spelling of others, are in accordance with the laws of phonetic change as those laws were in operation at the time when the Hebrew documents claim to have been written. In the case of two or three names only are there letters, or spellings, that cannot as yet be explained with certainty; but even in these few cases it cannot be shown that the spelling in the Hebrew text is wrong. Contrariwise, the names of many of the kings of Judah and Israel are found on the Assyrian contemporary documents with the same spelling as that which we find in the present Hebrew text.

The names of Chedorlaomer and his confederates are written in the Hebrew as follows: Amraphel (אמרפל), Chedorlaomer. (כדרלעמר), Arioch (אריוך), and Tidal (תדעל). The first name is undoubtedly meant to denote Hammurabi, king of Babylon, and is to be divided into 'ammu, rapi and ili. The first syllable is usually written in Babylonian *ha* but there are cases where it is written 'a. The *l* at the end stands for *ilu* "god." This word *ilu* is found at the end of the names of other kings of the same

⁶³ See Gesenius', *De Pentateuchi Samaritani origine*, the standard work on this subject; and, also, the able criticism of the work of Gesenius by J. Iverach Munro, entitled, *The Samaritan Pentateuch*. See also a review of Petermann's *Pentateuchus Samaritanus* by R. D. Wilson in *Pres. and Ref. Review*, III. 199.

dynasty as Hammurabi, such as *Sumula-ilu*, *Samsu-ilu-na*, and also of persons not kings as *Šumman-la-ilu*.⁶⁴ The omission of the Aleph from לֵן is found also in the Hebrew of the מֵן of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. As to the names of the other kings, no one can deny that they are spelled correctly. For *kudur* occurs in names of the time of Hammurabi and *Laomer* occurs in Ashurbanipal's list of the gods of Elam.⁶⁵ The *Kudur-Lakhsigumal* of Pinches inscription⁶⁶ is certainly the same as the *Kudur-Laomer* of Gen. xiv. The changes of the gutturals and palatals and of *l* and *r* are common ones in the transliterations of languages. Thus Babylonian *l* equals Persian *r*, Hebrew *l* equals Egyptian *r*; Hebrew *ʿ* often equals Egyptian *k*, Greek *g*, Babylonian *g*.⁶⁷ In Tidal the *ʿ* is regular for מ. In Arioch the consonants are exact equivalents of the like word in Sumerian. No one can doubt therefore, that the Hebrew text of the proper names may have been written in the time of Hammurabi; and that, whenever it was written, it has been handed down correctly

⁶⁴ King: *Letters* II, pp. 21, 215, 241.

⁶⁵ KB II 205. In an article on the gods of Elam by M. H. de Genouillac in the *Receuil de Travaux*, xxvii. 94f, we learn that the Elamite way of spelling the name was *La-ga-mar*. M. Francois Martin in his *Textes Religieux* gives the spellings as *La-ga-ma-al* (for which he cites two cases) and *La-ga-mar* (for which he cites two cases). Ashurbanipal spells the name *La-ga-ma-ru* (V. R. 6a, 33). The LXX gives it as Χοδολλογομόρ, having assimilated the first *r* to the following *l*. The name appears already in the time of Kutur-Nahhunti and again in an inscription of his brother, Shilhak-in-Shushinak. A son of Kutur-Nahhunti was called Shilhina-hamru-Lagamar (in three different texts), and Shutruru speaks of him as "the great."—King in his *History of Babylon*, p. 113, gives 2282 B. C. as the date of Kutur-Nahhunti (whose name he spells Kutur-Nankhumdi) and about 2080 B.C. as that of Hammurabi (id. 111). See also Scheil in the *Memoires of the Delegation en Perse*, Tome III, *Textes Élamites-Anzanites*, p. 49; and Deimel in the *Pantheon Babylonicum, Nomina Deorum, etc.*, Romae 1914, p. 160f.

⁶⁷ In the case of *Laomer* the changes of *l* and *r* are found on the documents of Elam, Babylon, and Assyria.

to our times. The very disputes about their names are the very strongest corroborations of the general belief of all critics in the accurate transmission of the Hebrew text. In the twenty consonants of these four names we have, therefore, twenty witnesses to the correctness of the Hebrew *textus receptus*.

The five kings of Egypt are: Shishak (ששק), So (סוא), Tirhakah (תרהקה), Necho (נכו), and Hophra (חפרע), reigning at intervals from 1,000 to 600 B. C. There are here 18 consonants in the Hebrew text and they represent 18 consonants in the *cartouches* of the kings named. Here we have one of the most remarkable instances of exact transmission of proper names on record. For first, the guttural consonants, א, ה, ח, and ע; the palatals and *r* all represent the same letters in the original. The only changes from the original are the assimilation of the *n* in Sheshank, the adding of the vowel letter ה at the end of Tirhakah, the changing of *sh* to *s* and of *b* to *w* in *So*, and the change of *b* to *p* in Hophra,—all changes in harmony with the general laws of variations in sounds in the passing from one language to another.

The kings of Assyria are Tiglath-pileser (תגלת פלאסר), Shalmaneser (שלמנאסר), Sargon (סרגון), Sennacherib (סנחריב), and Esarhaddon (אסרחדן); and the kings of Babylon Merodachbaladan (מרדך בלאדן), Nebuchadnezzar (נבוכדנצר), Evil-Merodach (אویل מרדך), and Belshazzar (בלשצר). These words contain 63 letters of which 59 are consonants. Comparing these consonants with those of the originals we find that the only changes in the Hebrew text contrary to general rules are the representing of *sh* in Shalmaneser by *sh*, and the assimilation or dropping of *r* in the *sha(r)* of Belshazzar.⁶⁸ As to the rendering of the Assyrian *sh* by *sh* it is to be noted that this is the way in which this particular root שלם is always written in both the Aramaic

⁶⁸ For the latter compare the confusion of שמע and שמר by the Septuagint translators and the falling out or assimilation of *r* in the examples given in Lidzbarski's *Epigraphik*, p. 393.

and Canaanitish dialects.⁶⁹ The writing in Daniel of Nebuchadnezzar for Nebuchadrezzar, involving the change of *r* to *n*, may be explained either by assuming that the former is the Aramaic form of the latter, or that the *r* is changed to *n* as in the example given in Lidbarski.⁷⁰

The four names of Achaemenid kings found in the Scriptures are Cyrus (כרש), Darius (דריוש), Ahasuerus (אחשורוש), and Artaxerxes (ארתחשסתא), of which the last part is written also ששת and ששתא. The *Aleph* in Xerxes is prosthetic as in the word *satrap* (אחשדרפן) and the final *Aleph* as found in certain spellings of the name Artaxerxes is *otiant*. The *Wau* in Xerxes is a contraction of *aya*. In the case of Artaxerxes the dental and sibilant are transposed in accordance with general laws of dental and sibilants. In the Sachau Papyri from the eighth century B.C. the names are written כרש, דריוש (or דריהוש, דריהוש), חשירש, and ארתחשמש. In Babylonian the *Wau* in Darius is commonly written *m*, Xerxes has often a prosthetic vowel, and Artaxerxes is written in the Babylonian recension 'of the original inscription Artak-satsu (or with an *h* instead of *k*).⁷¹ Thus we see that every one of the 22 consonants composing the names of the kings of Persia mentioned in the Bible has been transmitted correctly to us over a space 23 or 24 hundred years. It may be added that in no other non-Persian document are they so accurately transliterated.

Other kings of foreign countries mentioned in the Bible and also on contemporary documents outside the Bible are Hadadezer (הדדעזר), Hazael (חזהאל), and Rezin (רצין), of Damascus, Hiram (חירם), and Ethbaal (אתבעל) of Tyre, and מוע of Moab. These names

⁶⁹ This appears from numerous examples in Lidbarski's *Epigraphik*, pp. 376, 377, for Phœnician, Punic, Hebrew, Nabatian, Palmyrene, and Egypto-Aramaic.

⁷⁰ *Epigraphik*, pp. 329, 393. See also my *Studies on the Book of Daniel*, p. 167, note.

⁷¹ See Weissbach *Keilinschriften der Achaemeniden*, and Strassmaier's *Inschriften von Darius* and numerous tablets in CT and VASD.

contain at least 24 consonants, and every one of them has the proper writing in our Hebrew Bibles. In fact, Hadad (הדר), and Ethbaal (אתבעל) are spelled more correctly in the Hebrew text than they are in the Assyrian records.⁷²

Again, there are at least six kings of Israel and four of Judah whose names are found in the Assyrian records, to wit: Omri (עמרי), Ahab (אהאב), Jehu (יהוא), Menahem (מנחם), Pekah (פקח), Hoshea (הושע), Azariah (עזריה), Ahaz (אחז), Hezekiah (חזקיהו), and Menasseh (מנשה). By comparing the Assyrian renditions of the letters it will be found that the whole 41 are written in our Hebrew Bibles in a manner corresponding to the transliteration of the Assyrian texts.

Thus we find that in 120 cases of transliteration from Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian and Moabite into Hebrew and in 41 cases of the opposite, or 161 in all, the evidence shows that for 2300 to 3900 years the text of the proper names in the Hebrew Bible has been transmitted with the most minute accuracy. That the original scribes should have written them with such close conformity to correct philological principles is a wonderful proof of their thorough care and scholarship. That they should have been transmitted by copyists through so many centuries is a phenomenon unequalled in the history of literature.

For neither the assailants nor the defenders of the biblical text should assume for one moment that either this accurate rendition or this correct transmission of proper names is an easy or usual thing. And as some of my readers may not have experience in investigating such matters, attention may be called to the names of the kings of Egypt as given in Manetho and on the Egyptian monuments. Manetho was a high priest of the idol-temples in Egypt in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, i.e. about 280 B. C. He wrote a work on the dynasties of Egyptian kings, of which frag-

⁷² For a detailed discussion of the evidence see KAT and Lidzbarski's *Epigraphik*.

ments have been preserved in the works of Josephus, Eusebius, and others. Of the kings of the 31 dynasties, he gives 140 names from 22 dynasties. Of these, 49 appear on the monuments in a form in which every consonant of Manetho's spelling may possibly be recognized, and 28 more may be recognized in part. The other 54 are unrecognizable in any single syllable. If it be true that Manetho himself copied these lists from the original records—and the fact that he is substantially correct in 54 cases corroborates the statement,—the hundreds of variations and corruptions in the fifty or more unrecognizable names must be due either to his fault in copying or to the mistakes of the transmitters of his text.

Another example of the difficulty of transmitting proper names is to be found in the life of Alexander by the Pseudo-Callisthenes. Concerning this work the late President Woolsey of Yale College has truly said, that in the Greek manuscripts and in the versions "proper names assume different forms at will," and there is "an amazing difference in the proper names." "A daughter-in-law of queen Candace is called Harpussa by B. and C., Matersa by A, and Margie by V." "In the list of combatants in the games the Syriac has nine names like the Greek and Latin authorities, but they are all so much altered that two or three only have any resemblance."⁷³

Thus analogical evidence as well as the evidence of the documents forces us to the conclusion that the spelling of the proper names of the kings must go back to original sources; and if the original sources were in the hands of the composers of the documents, the probability is that since the composers are correct in the spelling of the names of the kings they are correct also in the sayings and deeds which they record concerning these kings. And this we find in general to be true where the Hebrew documents and the

⁷³ See for the evidence in full the article of President Woolsey entitled: Notice of a Life of Alexander the Great translated from the Syriac by Rev. Dr. Justin Perkins, New Haven, 1854, in Reprint from the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. IV, 359-440.

monuments both record the great deeds of the kings. Thus the Hebrew Scriptures mention the expedition of Shishak against Judah, and the Egyptian records at Thebes record the conquest of Judah by the same king. The Assyrian monuments speak of the wars of Tiglath-Pileser, Shalmaneser, Sargon, and Sennacherib; the Hebrew documents record the same events in their proper order and with the like results. Mesha says that he asserted his independence of Ahab; the Scriptures say that he rebelled against Israel. From the mouths of many witnesses—for in this case every consonant gives out a voice of testimony—the Hebrew documents are corroborated. The great kings come up from the south and the greater kings come down from the north, and the little kings of Tyre and Damascus and Moab and Israel and Judah meet them in the slash and clash of battle and the kings record their victories on the pyla of Thebes, on the cliffs of Behistun, on the stones of Moab, on the high built walls of their palaces and tombs; and the great kings and the small go alike the inevitable way of all flesh. But they did not live in vain. For their deeds and their very names speak out today in confirmation of the history of that little, oft conquered, nation whose God was Jehovah and whose oracles were the oracles of God.

8. The names of these kings—about forty in all—are the names of men who lived from about 2,000 to about 400 B. C., and yet they each and all appear in proper chronological order both with reference to the kings of the same country and with respect to the kings of other countries contemporary with them. No stronger evidence for the substantial accuracy of the Old Testament records could possibly be imagined than this collection of names of kings. It means that out of 56 kings of Egypt from Shishak to Darius II, and out of the numerous kings of Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Tyre, Damascus, Moab, Israel, and Judah, that ruled from 2,000 to 400 B. C., the writers of the Old Testament have put the names of the 40 or more, that are mentioned in records of two or more of the nations, in

their proper absolute and relative order of time and in their proper place. Any expert mathematician will tell you, that to do such a thing is practically impossible without a knowledge of the facts such as could be drawn alone from contemporary and reliable records. When we consider that there are nine distinct lines of kings in the countries mentioned, and that there are several hundred kings in all, and that the length of the reigns of the kings could be determined only from the most accurate records, the chance of anyone who did not have access to reliable sources to get a record as exact as that preserved for us in the Hebrew Scriptures would be so small that no mathematician on earth could calculate it.

9. The proper names and laws and customs of the time of Abraham are such as are met with in the extra-biblical records from the time of Hammurabi, of whom Abraham, according to Gen. xiv was a contemporary.⁷⁴

10. The proper names and customs of the story of Joseph harmonize with the time when Joseph is said to have been in Egypt.⁷⁵

11. The proper names of the Samaria ostraka and the names and events recorded on the Moabite stone agree with the biblical records of the time of Ahab.⁷⁶

12. Moreover, the kinds of foreign words embedded in the different documents of the Old Testament argue strongly for the genuineness and for the accurate transmission of this original text. Thus, the first chapters of Genesis contain proper and common names of Sumerian or Babylonian origin,⁷⁷ and the Pentateuch has many Egyptian words.⁷⁸ In the time of Solomon, whose mother had been the wife

⁷⁴ See my article in the *Bible Student* for 1904. In reading the article please bear in mind that the proof was never revised by the author.

⁷⁵ See Pinches: *The Old Testament*, etc. p. 249-267.

⁷⁶ See Lyon in *Harvard Review* for 1911, p. 136.

⁷⁷ E.g. Adam, Abel, Abraham, Arioeh; and נֶרָא, תְּהוֹם, בָּהֶן, (= Sumerian ba-ru(?)), אֶר, בְּנֵה (in sense of "form").

⁷⁸ E.g. Ramases, Pithom, On, Potiphar, Asenath; וּפְתִי, תְּכָה, גִּמְא, סִין, סוּף.

of Uriah the Hittite and whose commerce included products from all countries, and whose empire extended from the Euphrates to the borders of Egypt, we find in the narrative, words of Hittite, Indian and Assyrian origin.⁷⁹ In the documents from the 8th to the 6th century we find predominantly foreign words of Syrian, Assyrian and Babylonian character.⁸⁰ And in the records from the 6th century to the end we find Babylonian, Persian, and a few Greek words.⁸¹

13. The Old Testament documents claim that records were written by Moses,⁸² by Joshua,⁸³ by Deborah,⁸⁴ by a young man of Succoth,⁸⁵ by Samuel,⁸⁶ by David,⁸⁷ and either by, or in the days of, all the kings of Israel and Judah from Solomon to Zedekiah. For thousands of years before the time of Moses, the Egyptians on the southward of Palestine and the Babylonians on the east had been writing documents similar in form and content to those found in the Pentateuch. For thousands of years before Moses, the Babylonians had been making expeditions and carrying their culture to the coasts of the Mediterranean. For hundreds of years before his time, kings of Egypt had been raiding Palestine, and her merchants

⁷⁹ Thus, פתגם and פרוס have their nearest analogies in Armenian, the closest of the Indo-Europeans to the ancient Hittites (See Meyer in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, art. "Persia"). The names for apes and elephants (I. Kings xi. 22) are of Indian origin הַב = *iba* (Burnouf *Sanskrit Dict.* p. 89), כָּפִי = *Kapi*, (*id.* p. 140). And זבל, פחת, סנ and הִכָּל came from the Assyro-Babylonian (or from the Sumerian through the Babylonian).

⁸⁰ *E.g.* Hazael, Benhadad, Tiglath-Pileser, Merodach-Baladan, Bel, Nebo, Tartan, Rabshakeh.

⁸¹ *E.g.* Zerubbabel, Sheshbazzar, Sanballat, and many names of officers, offices, and things.

⁸² Thus, JE in Ex. xvii. 14, xxxii. 32, xxiv. 12, xxxiv. 17; D in Deut. x. 4, iv. 13, v. 19, x. 2, xxviii. 61, xxxi. 9, 22; P in Num. xxxiii. 2, Ex. xxxix. 30.

⁸³ Josh. viii. 32, xviii. 4, xxiv. 26.

⁸⁴ Jud. v. 14.

⁸⁵ Judges viii. 14.

⁸⁶ 1 Sam. x. 25.

⁸⁷ 2 Sam. xi. 14, 15.

and travellers had been frequenting her ports and inland cities and leaving the records of their transactions in their tales and autobiographies. The Tel-el-Amarna letters, written from every part of Palestine and Syria, show that writing in cuneiform was practised everywhere in these countries 200 years before the time of Moses. And the tablets from Taanach, Gezer, and elsewhere show that such writings were still made as late as 600 B. C. Various documents in Phenician, Aramaic, Hittite, Cypriote, Cretan, Moabite, Minaean, Sabea, and Hebrew, from 1000 B. C. to 400 B. C., show that during all this period documents of various kinds were in use among the nations of Western Asia in, and on every side of, Palestine. The character of the documents shows also that there must have been a general diffusion among the people of the ability to read and write. In view of all these facts, the *sang froid* with which these modern Germans and their followers affirm that writings could not have been produced among the Hebrews till 800 or 900 B.C. passes belief. Against the express and reiterated statements of the biblical records that writing was in use among the Hebrews from Moses downward, supported as these statements are by all the direct evidence of the documents of all the surrounding nations, they set up their *opinion*—an opinion that receives no support from the documents, until they have been arbitrarily amended and interpreted in order to bring them into harmony with the *a priori* opinions which on the face of them the documents themselves clearly condemn.

That the Hebrew of the text may have been written as early as the time of the Exodus is proven, (1) by the Hebrew words embedded in the Tel-el-Amarna Letters; (2) by the proper names in the Egyptian lists of places conquered in Palestine; and (3) by the proper names of the Hammurabi period.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Böhl, *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe*; W. Max Müller, *Die Palästinaliste Thutmosis III*; Clay, *Light on the OT from Babylon*. p. 147; and Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names*.

II. EVIDENCE FROM ANALOGY

The testimony supplied by the history of the transmission of the text of other ancient documents, supported as it is by what we know of the transmission of the text of the Old Testament for the last 2000 years, justifies the presumption that the copies of the Old Testament text existent 2000 years ago had in like manner been transmitted from their originals. Thus—

1. The fragments of classical writers found in the papyri of Egypt when compared with modern printed editions based on manuscripts, many of which are not a thousand years old show that, with few important variations, the classical authors have been correctly transmitted for 2000 to 2500 years. In the fragments of 150 lines from Homer in the papyri from Oxyrynchus, the Fayum and Hibeh, edited by Grenfell, Hunt, and others, many lines are exactly the same as in the edition of Munro Allen. Most of the variants are merely slight such as adding *n*, or putting *e* for *ei*. In the two fragments of Herodotus, from the end of the 3rd century A. D., published in the Oxyrynchus Papyri, there is no variant from Dietsch's edition, though there are a few minor variations from Stein's edition.

2. The building inscriptions of Nabunaid refer to the fact that certain temples had been built by Hammurabi, who reigned over Babylon 1500 years before his time, saying that he had found the *temens* or foundation stones of Hammurabi. In the copies of records of Hammurabi which were made about 650 B. C. for the library of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, and preserved in Nineveh, mention is made of the founding of these temples.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ See the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* III, II, 91 and King's *Letters of Hammurabi*, p. 181-3. An inscription of Hammurabi in Sumerian says among other things: "When Shamash gave unto him Shumer and Accad to rule and entrusted their sceptre to his hands, then did (Hammurabi) build for Shamash, the lord who is the protector of his life, the temple Ebabbar, his beloved temple, in Larsam, the city of his rule." (King: *Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, p. 182.) In another inscription we read: "Hammurabi, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, king of the four quarters of the world. hath built Ebabbar, the

3. The library of Ashurbanipal at Ninevah had thousands of documents that were copies of originals going back hundreds, and in some cases thousands, of years before his time.⁹⁰

4. Some parts of the Egyptian Book of the Dead were in use in the same form for nearly 4000 years.⁹¹

5. Scores of duplicates and triplicates among the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Egyptian, documents show that from 2000 B.C. down to the year 400 B. C. copies of documents were often made with absolute exactness and generally with substantial accuracy.⁹²

6. The variants in these duplicates show clearly, however, that differences of spelling, enumeration, and even omissions and additions, etc., are no proof in themselves of a difference in either age or authorship.⁹³ Examples of the

temple of Shamash in the city of Larsam" (*id.* 183). Referring to this temple Nabunaid says, that in his tenth year Shamash commanded him to restore Ebarra. He says that he found the *temen* and plan of the temple inscribed with the name of Hammurabi, "the old-time king who, 700 years before Burnaburiash, Ebarra and its Zikurat upon the old *temen* had built to Shamash. (KB. III. II. o. Col. I. 54. II. 1-60, 1-32.)

⁹⁰ See Dennefeld: *Babylonisch-assyrische Geburts-omina*, p. 9. 3, on the Entstehungszeit, Entstehungs-und Ueberlieferungsart des Originalwerkes; also, Hunger: *Beckenwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern und Assyriern*, II. 503 f.

⁹¹ A tradition as old as the twelfth dynasty says that chapter XXX B of the *Book of the Dead* was discovered by Herutataf the son of Khufu in the reign of Menkaura, a king of the fourth dynasty. It was cut in hieroglyphics and set under the feet of Thoth. This prayer was still recited by the Egyptians in the Ptolemaic period and so must have been in use for about four thousand years. See Budge: "*The Literature of the Egyptians*, p. 50."

⁹² Three of these duplicates may be seen in Strassmaier's *Inscripfen von Cyrus* and 14 in his *Inscripfen von Nebuchadonosor*. See also VASD. The five quadrilingual inscriptions of Darius on steles placed along the Suez canal were duplicates, as were also his Egyptian inscriptions at El Khergeh. (See TSBA. V. 293 and *Recueil de Travaux* VII. 1, IX. 131, XI. 160).

⁹³ This appears most clearly and frequently from the various originals of the Behistun inscriptions as they appear in the four recensions of which we possess one each in whole or in part in the Persian, Susian, Babylonian, and Aramaic. These differences will be discussed

different ways of spelling will be seen in the lists of Thothmes III at Karnak. Thirty-five variants occur in 119 names.^{93a} In the 17 lines of tablet no. 321 of Strassmaier's *Inschriften von Cyrus* the duplicate copy gives eight variants; one supplies an erosion, one an omission, one an explanation, three are corrections, and two fuller writings. One of the best exhibitions of duplicates and triplicates will be found in Dennefeld's *Geburts-Omina*. An intelligent study of this masterly work might well be made a propaedeutic to the study of textual criticism, illustrating as it does from numerous contemporary documents all kinds of copyists' mistakes due to sight and sound.

7. Hundreds of bilingual inscriptions containing the original Sumerian with its Assyrian translations some made in the time of Hammurapi and some in the time of Ashurbanipal, as well as the four recensions of the Behistun inscriptions, known to us, show that the kinds of variations that we find between the Hebrew text and its versions are to be found in them. As it does not impair the general veracity of the former, so neither does it do so for the Hebrew.⁹⁴

8. If the original documents of the duplicates of the

more fully when we come to consider the book of Chronicles. Here attention is called merely to the fact that the Babylonian copy of the Aramaic varies frequently from its original in the enumerations, and that the Babylonian and Aramaic recensions are much shorter than the Persian and Susian. (See my review of the Sachau *Papyrus* in this REVIEW. for 1914.)

^{93a} See plates in W. Max Müller's *Die Palästinaliste Thothmes III*.

⁹⁴ More than 2000 interlinear texts are mentioned in Bezold's *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Texts in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum*. Good examples are published in *The Seven Tablets of Creation* by Prof. L. W. King, pp. 130-139, 180. On page 217 of this same work will be found an example of a work in Sumerian containing word for word explanations in Assyrian. Hundreds of such texts have been found in the library of Kuyunjik (See Bezold's *Catalogue* pp. 2010, 2092-2103). One of the most interesting of these bilingual inscriptions is by *Samsuiluna*, successor of Hammurabi, of which there are two copies of the Sumerian original and two copies of the Babylonian version, with slight variants in both originals and versions, (See King: *The Letters of Hammurabi*, p. 198 f).

Old Testament (making about one fifth of the whole) were written in cuneiform script, most of the variations between them could be paralleled by the variations in the translations of the Assyrian from the Sumerian.⁹⁵

III. THE AD HOMINEM ARGUMENT

But the strongest argument against the critics from the textual point of view is the childlike simplicity with which they appeal to that part of the text which happens to suit their particular theory of Old Testament history, literature or religion. After having, in order to prove this theory, cast out, without one item of evidence to support them, hundreds of words from the *prima facie* text of the documents, they proceed to point and interpret what remains with as much assurance as if they had really proven beyond all controversy that what they had arbitrarily cast out was false and with as much presumption as if they had actually proven that what they have retained is true. What would a court do with a plaintiff that desired to have a document admitted as evidence in support of his side of the case, after the same plaintiff had charged that the document was neither genuine, authentic, nor historical? Would the court not demand at least that the plaintiff should prove beyond controversy that the parts of the documents that the plaintiff desired to introduce as evidence were reliable, as claimed? And since in almost every instance of such claim the critics are unable to produce any proof—simply because no such proof exists,—is it not obvious that they must be debarred from introducing as evidence the parts that support their side, as long at least as they insist on denying the evidence of the parts that support the defense? In short,

⁹⁵ *E.g.* the numerous synonyms in the parallel passages of Kings and Chronicles may be compared to the rendering of *DIM*, in the creation tablets, by *ba-ni*, *ba-na-at*, *ip-še-it*, and *e-pu-uš*, and *BA-RU* by *e-pu-uš*, and *ib-ta-ni*. See the *Creation of the World by Marduk in Kings Seven Tablets of Creation*, I. 130-139. On this subject the author of this article read a paper at the International Congress of Orientalists in St. Louis in 1904. He hopes to be able to publish this paper at an early date.

no argument can be made against that part of the text of the Old Testament which upholds the *prima facie* evidence of the documents, which will not overthrow in a much greater degree the text that the critics attempt to establish.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

In view of this mass of evidence, analogy and admission, the following conclusions seem to be justified: 1. The traditional text has in its favor in the case of the most important of the documents the claim to have been in its original form written by, or for, certain definite persons and to have been written in the places and at the times mentioned; and the possibility of their having been written as claimed is supported by the outside evidence that writing was then in vogue, that the literary forms in which the text is written were then known, that the Hebrew language was then in use, that scribes and copyists were then existent, that the contents are in harmony with what is *known* of the times when they claim to have been written.

2. The proof that the copies of the original documents have been handed down with substantial correctness for more than 2000 years cannot be denied. That the copies in existence 2000 years ago had been in like manner handed down from the originals is not merely possible, but is rendered probable by the analogies of Babylonian documents now existing of which we have both originals and copies, thousands of years apart, and of scores of papyri which show when compared with our modern editions of the classics that only minor changes of the text have taken place in more than 2000 years and especially by the scientific and demonstrable accuracy with which the proper spelling of the names of kings and of the numerous foreign terms embedded in the Hebrew text have been transmitted to us.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ By substantial as used in the above statements we mean that the text of the Old Testament and of the other documents have been changed only in respect to those accidental matters which necessarily accompany the transmission of all texts where originals have not been

3. From the above given array of evidence and especially from the fact that the destructive critics themselves make use of the traditional text in support of every theory which they have broached, the conclusion is irresistible that the *textus receptus* must be accepted in its *prima facie* consonantal form as correct and reliable in all cases where there is no irrefragable weight of outside evidence against it.

4. In view of the thoroughly established fact that the vowel signs were not added to the consonantal text till about 600 A.D., and that the vowel letters were subject to change as late as the latest manuscripts, it results that all arguments based on specific pointings must be abandoned, unless the pointings can be proven from outside evidence to be correct.⁹⁶

5. In view of the exactness with which the proper names of persons and places have been transmitted for 4000 years and their general agreement in the parallel passages, the presumption is, that the names for God, also, have been rightly transmitted. This presumption lays the burden of proof upon the critics, who, in order to establish their theory, arbitrarily and without any direct evidence in their favor, throw out *Elohim* from every place where it occurs in Gen. ii. 3-iv, and *Jehovah* from many passages in other parts.⁹⁷

preserved and which consequently exist merely in copies or copies of copies. Such changes may be called *minor* in that they do not seriously affect the doctrines of the documents nor the general impression and evident veracity of their statements as to geography, chronology, and other historical matters.

⁹⁶ Thus, Wellhausen's view in his *History of Israel*, p. 389, that *zakar* "male" was in earlier times *zakur* and that *zakur* must be substituted for *zakar* in Ex. xxxiv. 9, Deut. xv. 19, and 1 K. xi. 15 seq., and *zakar* read in all so-called later documents, is purely subjective and without any possible objective evidence in its favor. So, also, the pointing of אָכַר in Ecc. iii. 6 represents merely the exegesis of the Massorites and not necessarily the intention of the original writer. (LOT. 474). Objection to the arguments for the late date of Deuteronomy based on the use of *nathan* and *'asa* in ii. 12, would be sufficiently met by pointing *nothen* and *'ose*.

⁹⁷ The unjustifiable procedure of the critics with regard to the names of God is further shown by the analogy of the Koran, where we find

the same variety in the use of the words for Lord and God that we meet with in the Pentateuch. This statement is based on a comparative concordance of *Allaha* and *rab*, which I have prepared. It shows that some Suras use neither, some one or the other, and some both; and this in all the kinds of variations that are found in the Pentateuch.

Finally, the analogy of the transmission of texts as shown among the Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Arabs, shows that there is a presumption against the theory of the critics that the Hexateuch is the result of the work of seventeen or more authors and redactors, combining in an inexplicable and inextricable confusion, three or four parallel accounts and four, or more, recensions of laws representing widely different periods of time and development.⁹⁸

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(*To be continued*)

⁹⁸ The analogy of the great historical work of Herodotus and of great works of fiction like *Don Quixote*, or Victor Hugo's *Don Caesar*, is convincing that duplicates such as are found in the Pentateuch are true to life. The biographies, also, of Thothmes III and Tiglath Pileser I and Alexander and Caesar are as full of similar events as are those of Abraham and Moses. Caesar's accounts of his two voyages to Britain and of his two bridges over the Rhine are beautiful examples of them. Alexander was always consulting his *mantis*. "Lives of great men all remind us."

THE COMMENT ON JOHN IX. 38 IN THE AMERICAN REVISED VERSION

In the "Resolutions" of the Joint Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury, the adoption of which in 1870 marked the first definite step toward the revision of the Authorized Version, it is stipulated "that the revision be so conducted as to comprise both marginal renderings and such emendations as it may be necessary to insert in the text of the Authorized Version."¹ This action was in accordance with precedent. The AV² as published in 1611 contained not merely marginal notes, but also chapter summaries and cross-references—a by no means inconsiderable addition to the biblical text, notwithstanding the fact that at the time of its publication these "helps" seemed so inadequate to the lovers of the Geneva Bible.³

In the Preface to the ERV it is pointed out that the AV translators were governed by the following general rule in the matter of the marginal notes: "No marginal notes at all to be affixed but only for the explanation of the Hebrew and Greek words which cannot without some circumlocution so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text." It is further pointed out in the Preface that this "negative rule," as it is called, was not strictly construed by those for whose guidance it was formulated, since "out of more than 760 marginal notes originally appended to the Authorized Version of the New Testament, only a seventh part consists of explanations or literal renderings; the great majority of the

¹ The "Resolutions" are given in full in Schaff's *Companion to the Greek Testament and English Version* (1883), p. 382; and in the *Documentary History of the American Committee of Revision* (1885), p. 8.

² The following abbreviations will be used in the course of this article; AV, ERV, and ARV, to designate the Authorized Version of 1611, the English Revision of 1881, and the American Revision of 1901; RV to designate both the ERV and the ARV as distinguished from the AV; LXX to denote the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament.

³ See the preface to the *Westminster Annotations* (1645), a volume which was intended to supply the need of more extended comment.

notes being devoted to the useful and indeed necessary purpose of placing before the reader alternative renderings which it was judged that the passage or the words would fairly admit."⁴

With regard to their own notes, which are much more numerous in the RV than in the AV, it is stated in the Preface to the ERV, that "these notes fall into four main groups: first, notes specifying such differences of reading as were judged to be of sufficient importance to require a particular notice; secondly, notes indicating the exact renderings of words to which, for the sake of the English idiom, we were obliged to give a less exact rendering in the text; thirdly, notes very few in number, affording some explanation which the original seemed to require; fourthly, alternative renderings in difficult and debateable passages." And it is added: "The notes of this last group are numerous, and largely in excess of those which were admitted by our predecessors."

Owing to the fact that a number of the suggestions made by the American revisers affecting both the text and the margin of the Revision, were not accepted by their British brethren,⁵ it was agreed that their preferences should be added to the ERV as an "Appendix." This "Appendix" though by no means complete shows that it was not the desire of the American Company to increase the number of the marginal notes materially⁶ and that they were in sub-

⁴ The Preface adds the further statement, "The notes referring to variations in the Greek Text amount to about thirty-five."

⁵ A list of the changes proposed by the American, and adopted by the English, NT Company is given as an Appendix to Schaff's *Companion*. This list which is described as "far from complete" was prepared by Bishop Alfred Lee of the NT Company.

⁶ The main reasons that the marginal notes (as distinguished from the cross-references, which are not found in the ERV) seem so much more numerous in the ARV than in the ERV are these: In the case of citations from the O. T., the reference is placed with the foot-notes, in order to distinguish these citations "for which the sacred writer is responsible," from the cross references which have only the authority of the revisers (both are omitted in the ERV). The second is that the ARV repeats the same comment much more frequently than is the

stantial agreement with the members of the British Company as to the general form which they should assume.

When the ARV finally appeared in 1901, a period of twenty years had elapsed since the publication of the ERV. In view of this long interval, during which all but three of the members of the American NT Company had passed away,⁷ it was specially emphasized in the Preface of the ARV New Testament that it was the purpose of the survivors to make this revision as published in 1901 substantially the volume which would have been published in 1881 had the suggestions of the American revisers been accepted at that time.⁸

Among the notes which appear in the "Appendix" to the policy of the ERV; e.g., in the ARV "gospel" is explained as "good tidings" either directly or by cross-reference, wherever it occurs (about 70 times); in the ERV it is explained only once viz., at Mt. iv. 23, its first occurrence.

⁷ Of the 17 members who actually took part in the work of Revision (Drs. Crooks and Warren were unable to attend any sessions and resigned), four died before the appearance of the ERV in 1881 (Hadley in 1872; Hackett in 1875; H. B. Smith, who only attended one session and then resigned, in 1877; Hodge, who merely corresponded with the NT Company, in 1878). Six more died before 1891 (Washburn, in 1881; Burr, in 1882; Abbot, in 1884; Short, in 1886; Lee, in 1887; Woolsey, in 1889); four more died before 1901, the year of the publication of the ARV (Crosby, in 1891; Chase, in 1892; Schaff, in 1893; Kendrick, in 1895). Drs. Dwight, Riddle and Thayer have since passed away; Thayer, in 1901, Dwight and Riddle, in 1916.

⁸ The statement in the Preface may well be quoted: "In the preparation of this edition no attempt has been made to preserve a full record of the other readings and renderings than those that appeared in the work as published in 1881 which were preferred by the American revisers. The Appendix of that edition, however, was not only hastily compiled under pressure from the University Presses, but its necessarily limited compass compelled, as the original heading intimated, the exclusion of many suggestions that the American Company held to be of interest and importance. These, amounting in their aggregate to a considerable number, have been incorporated in the present edition. The opportunity has been taken also to introduce not a few alterations, individually of slight importance, yet as a body contributing decidedly to the perfection of the work. But the survivors of the New Testament Company have not felt at liberty to make new changes of moment which were not favorably passed upon by their associates at one stage or another of the original preparation of the work."

ERV and which were later incorporated—in this instance, in a somewhat different form—in the ARV, there is one which is quite noteworthy. It is obviously one to which the American revisers attached considerable importance. It is placed in the first group of changes (those which affect the entire NT) and in this list it is given a conspicuous place, being fourth in a list of fourteen. The note reads as follows: “At the word ‘worship’ in Matt. ii. 2, etc., add the marginal note ‘The Greek word denotes an act of reverence, whether paid to man (see chap. xviii. 26) or to God (see chap. iv. 10)’.” This comment is noteworthy not merely because of the unwillingness of the English revisers to approve it, although this fact is not without significance in this instance, but especially because of its exceptional character, its frequent occurrence (in one form or another it appears thirty-five times in the ARV margin) and most of all because of the peculiarly offensive form which it assumes in the margin of John ix. 38. That verse which is the climax of the story of the healing of the man born blind, and which tells us that in answer to the Lord’s question, “Dost thou believe on the Son of God?” the man replied, “Lord, I believe” and worshipped him, receives this form of the comment upon the word “worship”: “The Greek word denotes an act of reverence, whether paid to a creature (as here) or to the Creator (see ch. 4. 20).” The words “as here” of the parenthesis constitute a positive, dogmatic assertion that our Lord was a creature and set him in this most important respect in definite contrast to the Creator—an assertion which can be admitted by no evangelical Christian. It is with this form of the comment that we are especially concerned. But before entering upon a discussion of the comment upon the word “worship” as it appears at John ix. 38 or in the other forms in which it occurs in the margin of the NT, it will be well for us first of all to ascertain the data which it is intended to explain. We shall therefore consider three topics:

- I. Προσκυνεῖν and its proper English equivalent (p. 245 f.);
- II. The comment on the word "worship" in the ARV (p. 268 f.);
- III. The special form of this comment at John ix. 38 (p. 284 f.).

I

ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΕΙΝ AND ITS PROPER ENGLISH EQUIVALENT

Our first concern is to ascertain the meaning and usage of the words, προσκυνεῖν and "worship." For it is the alleged inadequacy of the latter as a rendering of the former, which is the occasion of the marginal comment in the ARV. We will consider first the Greek word and then the English.

A. ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΕΙΝ; ITS MEANING AND USAGE.

This word is found in the Greek literature of practically every period, from the 5th century B.C. to the present time. We shall examine briefly: the classical and general extra-biblical usage; the usage of the LXX; and the usage of the New Testament.

a) The Classical and General Extra-Biblical Usage. Προσκυνεῖν⁹ denotes the act of prostrating oneself (*proskynesis*) before one who is, who claims to be, or who is regarded as being, (greatly) one's superior. The ancient Greeks used it to describe an act of worship rendered to the gods and also of an act of respect paid to a human superior. The word is not found in Homer, and according to Cremer it "first appears among the Greeks after their contact with the Persians." But its usage at that period, the fact that we find it then employed to describe an act of worship rendered to the gods indicates that the word itself is considerably older and that it is good Greek.¹⁰ At the same time the fact that προσκυνεῖν describes this act of worship only

⁹ In classical Greek this verb is construed with the accusative. The use of the dative is late and less correct. Cf. footnotes 37 and 43.

¹⁰ Cremer (*Biblico-Theological Lexicon of NT Greek*,⁴ p. 755 f.) regards this word as one which "originally was simply a Greek expression

from a purely external standpoint, i. e., as an act of prostration,¹¹ made it natural that it should be used to describe the act even under those circumstances in which no act of worship could be regarded as intended. Hence we find the word used of an act of homage paid to a mortal, and especially of the homage paid by the Persians to their king and to persons of rank.

That this wider employment of the act of prostration and of the word describing it was not in entire harmony with Greek ideas, is clear from statements which we find in the Classics. The Greeks seem to have disapproved of this Oriental custom of offering the *proskynesis* to mere men however highly placed for the following reasons. They felt that—

1) To prostrate oneself before a human being is derogatory to a freeman: barbarians and slaves may grovel, not men. Thus, Xenophon in the *Anabasis* speaks of the fact that the Greeks "worship no man as master¹² but the gods" as the most important evidence of that liberty which their fathers had maintained through their victories over

for an observance of Oriental life." But this view hardly seems tenable. It is improbable that if this were the case, an Athenian would use such an Oriental (Anatolian) dialecticism which might imply merely respect, in speaking of *worship* offered to the gods. Yet Xenophon uses it in this sense in the *Anabasis*. The fact that it does not appear in the literature of the earlier period does not warrant the inference that it was unknown before the 5th century. It seems to have been a rare word in classical Greek. (It occurs less than a dozen times in the Tragic Poets, only rarely in Plato and Aristotle, never in Thucydides.) This suggests at least that it may have been used even as early as Homer, although no examples of its use are known. When we remember that *σέβειν* (or, *σεβίζειν*) occurs only once in Homer, four times in Pindar, and not at all in Hesiod (*σέμνος* is found a few times in Homer and more frequently in Pindar), the fact that *προσκυνεῖν* has not been found in the extant literature of the early period, is a very precarious argument for the view that it must be of later origin.

¹¹ Cf. footnote 44.

¹² Trench (*Synonyms of the NT*) points out that the Greeks in the days of their freedom "refused the title of *δεσπότης* to any but the gods."

the Persians at Marathon and Salamis.¹³ Demosthenes declares that if the result of standing up for one's rights is to be merely the suffering of still more injustice, the best thing to do will be to "bow oneself humbly (*προσκυνεῖν*) before brutal men as is customary among the barbarians and not to oppose them."¹⁴ Isocrates speaks of the cowardly servility of the Persians who "worship a mortal man and address him as a divine being (*δαίμονα*)."¹⁵ Callisthenes in arguing against Alexander's intention to claim for himself the honor of prostration from his subjects asks the king whether he intends to compel the Greeks "who are men most devoted to freedom" to offer him the *proskynesis* or whether he will require it merely of his own subjects, the Macedonians, or of his Oriental subjects alone.¹⁶

2) For a mortal to accept such homage would expose him to the envy of the gods and make him the fit object of their vengeance. This appears from the manner in which Agamemnon receives the obsequious welcome of false Clytemnestra, as described by Aeschylus: "For the rest offer no womanish luxuries to me, nor before me, as before a king of the East, grovel with open-mouthed acclaim (*χαμαιπετὲς βόαμα προσχάνης ἐμοὶ*) nor with vestments strown draw jealous eyes upon my path. To the gods these honors belong. To tread, a mortal, upon fair fineries is to my poor thoughts a thing of fear. Give me, I say, the worship not of thy god but of thy lord (*λέγω κατ' ἄνδρα μὴ θεὸν σέβειν ἐμέ*)."¹⁷ That the gods were looked upon as guarding zealously their prerogatives and as regarding man and his upward strivings with a watchfulness by no means free from suspicion and jealousy is one of the clearest teachings of the familiar Prometheus legend. If a god (Titan) were to be so severely punished for bestowing one of the 'peculiar possessions' of

¹³ *Anabasis*, III. 2, 13.

¹⁴ *Κατὰ Μειδίου*, 549.

¹⁵ *Πανηγύρικος*, 151 (Beuseler's edition, 1854).

¹⁶ Arrian, *Anabasis*, IV, 12; Chinnock's Translation.

¹⁷ Agamemnon, 911; Verrall's translation. Dean Plumptre thinks that in this passage Aeschylus is definitely referring to the Persian custom.

the gods upon men, what terrible consequences must be awaiting the mortal who would dare to usurp them!

3) The offering of the *proskynesis* to mortals as well as to the gods must inevitably result in the obliterating of the proper distinction between them. Thus Isocrates in the passage cited above speaks of the Persians as "making the gods of less account than men." Callisthenes in opposing the view that it would be proper to offer the *proskynesis* to Alexander points out "that men have made distinctions between those honors which are due to men and those due to the gods in many different ways"; that "the greatest distinction is made by the custom of prostration (*προσκύνησις*)"; and that "it is not therefore reasonable to confound all these distinctions without discrimination, exalting men to a rank above their condition by extravagant accumulation of honours, and debasing the gods, as far as lies in human power, to an unseemly level, by paying them honours only equal to those paid to men."¹⁸ Nevertheless, Alexander prevailed and divine honors were accorded him.¹⁹ And the blasphemous confusion and perversion of acts, words and ideas resulting from such a practice, ancient though it was in the Orient, found its climax later on in Rome in the person of a Roman emperor who, to quote what Dean Farrar calls that "terrible phrase" of Gibbon, was at once a priest, an atheist, and a god.²⁰

It is for this last reason especially that it is difficult for us to form a clear conception of the meaning and usage of the word *προσκυνεῖν*. The Greeks undoubtedly held the Persian king to be a man, a mere mortal like themselves, and considered it a servile act to prostrate oneself before him. The two heroic Spartans of whom Herodotus writes²¹ were

¹⁸ Arrian, *loco cit.*

¹⁹ Callisthenes' words found an echo centuries later in Jamblichus, who in the interests of Neo-Platonism protests against this confusing of things which are essentially different, by offering the same rites to mortals and the gods; and he cites the *proskynesis* as an example (Taylor, *Jamblichus on the Mysteries*, p. 80).

²⁰ *Early Days of Christianity*, p. 4.

²¹ Book VII, 136.

ready to die for their country but not to demean themselves by grovelling at the feet of a man, though he were the king of Persia. Yet the Greeks also recognized that the Persians considered their king a divine being and that consequently the act of homage which they paid him might be regarded as an act of worship. Aeschylus speaks of him as the "god of the Persians."²² And in Plutarch's account of the visit of Themistocles to the Persian court, we have the following statement of the Persian view of the matter as it purports to be expressed by their spokesman: "Now you Hellenes are said to admire liberty and equality above all things; but in our eyes, among many fair customs, this is the fairest of all, to honor the king and to pay obeisance (*προσκυνεῖν*) to him as the image (*εἰκόνα*) of that god who is the preserver of all things."²³ Thus it is clear that the Greeks both despised the Persians for worshipping a man and at the same time admitted that the Persians themselves looked upon him as a god. Perhaps they despised them all the more on that account.

But, while the instances just cited show how difficult it is at times to decide whether the word *προσκυνεῖν* is properly to be regarded as having a religious content or not, the inference must not be drawn that when used of homage paid to human beings the idea of worship may always be thought of as present in the word, both when used of the Persian

²² Cf. The article on "The Title 'King of Persia' in the Scriptures," by Prof. R. D. Wilson, published in this *Review*, January 1917, p. 135. The title occurs three times in the "Persae" together with several other titles of similar import.

²³ "Themistocles," 27.2 (Perrin's translation). That Plutarch gives us a correct account of the Persian standpoint seems probable, although the dearth of first-hand information introduces an element of uncertainty. But in view of the positive assertions of Greek writers that the Persians worshipped their king and the convincing evidence that this practice prevailed from an early period in Egypt, which Alexander had already conquered, Ed. Meyer's contention that Alexander's assumption of deity was the direct result of the "Hellenic theories of the state" propounded by Plato and Aristotle, rather than of personal egotism influenced by Oriental custom, seems most questionable. Cf. art., "Persia" (p. 213a). *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed.

custom and also in passages where no such allusion is involved. Herodotus does not imply that the *proskynesis* was reserved by the Persians for the king alone, but merely that it was rendered by one of a much lower rank.²⁴ And when Xenophon in speaking of the ignominious fate of the traitor Orontas tells us that as he was being led away to death "as many as formerly were wont to pay him homage (*προσεκύνουν*), paid him homage (*προσεκύνησαν*) even then,"²⁵ it can hardly be supposed that this was anything more than an act of respect on the part of the Persians. And in the passage in Euripides' *Orestes*, where the Phrygian pleading for his life at the hands of the blood-crazed hero cries out: "Crouching to thee, in barbaric wise, I grovel (*προσκυνῶ*), O my lord,"²⁶ it does not seem probable that the dramatist intends to describe anything more than an act of cowardly and servile submission, an abject truckling such as might be expected of an Oriental and a barbarian. Similarly in the *Oedipus Rex*, a drama of Sophocles which does not deal with Asia at all, in the scene where the king pleads with Tiresias to disclose his baleful secret we are told that it is as a suppliant (*ἱκτῆριος*) that he kneels (*προσκυνεῖν*) before him.²⁷ There is clearly no act of worship intended.

It is thus apparent that as early as the 5th century B.C., and this is as far back as we can trace the word, *προσκυνεῖν* was used in both the narrow and the broad sense; of worship offered to the gods, and also of homage rendered to men. And this ambiguity seems to cling to it throughout all of its subsequent history. Thus *προσκύνημα* was for centuries the technical term applied to the prayers offered (and inscribed) in the temple of Serapis at Alexandria. It is mentioned repeatedly on the inscriptions²⁸ and papyri²⁹ of

²⁴ Book I, 134.

²⁵ Book I, 7, 10.

²⁶ Line 1507.

²⁷ Line 327.

²⁸ Cf. e.g., Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* (1903).

²⁹ Examples can be found in the publications of Mitteis, Milligan, Grenfell and Hunt, Kornemann and Meyer, etc.

the Graeco-Roman period. Yet we find it also used as an expression of greeting or salutation. This ambiguity is strikingly illustrated in a letter of the fourth century A.D.,³⁰ in which a man in writing to his mother informs her that he is offering the customary prayer for her to the gods (τὸ προσκύνημά σοι ποιῶ) and then toward the close of the same brief epistle he expresses the hope that he may soon be able to come and greet³¹ them³² (καὶ ἐν τάχει ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἵνα ὑμᾶς προσκυνήσω).³³ Among the papyri we find letters written to high ecclesiastics of the Christian Church in which this word appears in the greeting. It was because of the frequent use of προσκυνεῖν as a honorific word that the Second Council of Nicea (8th century) decreed that προσκυνεῖν should designate the veneration given to human superiors and to sacred objects, and that λατρεύειν should be used specifically of worship offered to God.³⁴ Other instances³⁵ of this

³⁰ Mitteis, *Griechische Urkunden* I. Nr. III.

³¹ The difference in use is striking; but no more remarkable than in such words as "adorable," "awfully," and "absolutely," in the vocabulary of the school-girl of today. "Adorable" may mean "cute"; "awfully" is the same as "very"; and "absolutely" may mean "yes."

³² I.e. his family and friends?

³³ This is the only letter I have found in which the word is used in both senses, but a number of letters could be cited in which it occurs in one or the other.

³⁴ The warrant for this is sought of course in the broad use of προσκυνεῖν in the OT. It is significant that of the examples which are cited of the offering of "veneration" (προσκύνησις) to human beings or sacred objects only one is taken from the NT, viz Heb. xi. 21, which is rendered, "he revered the head of his staff." The argument for the distinction between *dulia* (προσκύνησις) and *latria* (λατρεία) is a curious example of false exegesis (*The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2d Series, Vol. XIV, p. 572 f.).

³⁵ Suidas apparently knew it only in the religious sense; he illustrates it by the example καὶ σὲ προσκυνεῖν τὸν ἥλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης, which is apparently a biblical illusion, i.e. to Christ, or God as the Sun of righteousness. Du Fresne in his *Glossarium* (1688) gives both senses in the case of words from this root. He cites the decree in the Canons of the 16th Carthaginian Synod (418 A.D.) that the readers (οἱ ἀναγνώσαι) are not to greet (προσκυνεῖν) the laity (τὸν δῆμον). Prof. Sophocles gives examples of both usages in his *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (from B.C. 146 A.D. 1100).

ambiguous usage might be cited, and it is important to note that we find the word used in both senses in Modern Greek.³⁶ These examples will however suffice to show the general usage of the word in classical and post-classical Greek, and we turn now to the one source which has the most direct bearing upon the usage of the New Testament, the Septuagint.

b) The Usage of the Septuagint. The witness of the LXX regarding the use of the word *προσκυνεῖν* is of the first importance, not merely because of the close connection which naturally exists between the two parts of the Greek Bible, but also because the frequency of its occurrence in the Greek of the OT stands in favorable contrast to the scattered and in some respects meagre data which have come down to us through extra-biblical sources.

Προσκυνεῖν occurs in the Canonical Books of the Greek OT about 175 times.³⁷ It is with but very few—about half a dozen—exceptions the regular rendering of two verbs in the OT, שָׁחָה³⁸ which occurs 160 in the Hebrew Bible, and

³⁶ Cf. *Contopoulos, Modern Greek and English Dictionary*.

³⁷ In the LXX *προσκυνεῖν* is usually construed with the dative, and only a very few times with the accusative. The dative is generally regarded as an attempt to render the preposition ל with which שָׁחָה is usually construed in Hebrew. We find the verb also with a prep. e.g., ἐνώπιον (= לפני) and also used absolutely. Cf. footnote 43.

³⁸ The verb שָׁחָה is somewhat peculiar. Despite the frequency of its occurrence in the OT, it does not seem to be used in this sense in any other of the principal cognates (we find it in New Hebrew). It is apparently related to the verbs שָׁחַח and שָׁחַח. The closest parallel to it is found in the verb *ṣahāhu* in letters of the Amarna collection written by the governors of Akko, Megiddo, Askelon and Lakish; we find it usually in the fulsome and effusive greeting which is characteristic of most of these letters. The following may serve as an example:—"To the King, my lord, my gods [plural of Majesty], my Sun-god, the Sun from heaven,—thus (saith) Widia, the man from Askelon, thy servant, the dust of thy feet, the groom of thy horses:—at the feet of my lord, seven times and seven times do I prostrate myself (*iš-ta-ḥa-ḥi-in*) backward and forward." (Then follows the communication.) The word *iš-ta-ḥa-ḥi-in* is apparently the Hithpael of the verb שָׁחַח; the ending *-in* (occasionally written *-en*) being most probably the energetic or cohortative ending, which in Arabic appears as *-an*, and in Hebrew as *-en* (before suffixes), shortened in the regular co-

סנר³⁹ which is practically restricted to the Aramaic portions of Daniel. Indeed, it is so clearly the full equivalent of these words that it is not necessary for us to go back of the LXX to determine the meaning of *προσκυνεῖν* in OT Greek. We find this word used of the worship of God about sixty times; of worship of false gods, or of the prohibition of the same, about sixty times; of homage paid to the king or to a person of rank, about forty-five times; while in about a dozen instances the objects of the act are: angelic or divine visitants, the Messianic king, or glorified Israel.

In the Apocrypha the usage is practically the same as in the Canonical Books. We find *προσκυνεῖν* used most frequently of worship paid to God. But it is also used of the worship of idols; we find it twice used of homage paid to human beings,⁴⁰ and it is once used of respecting, in the sense of accepting, proffered advice.⁴¹

It is thus apparent that in the LXX as in extra-biblical

hortative (first person) to -ā. The word is most probably Canaanite, despite the fact that it nowhere has a Babylonian gloss as do some of the other Canaanite words occurring in these letters. Still the fact that it is only found in letters written from Canaan; that it takes the place of the usual Babylonian word *amkuṭ* from *makātu* (the governor of Megiddo uses it only once and *amkuṭ* several times) when taken in connection with the fact that this word so closely resembles the word commonly used in Hebrew to describe an act of this nature, but does not apparently occur elsewhere in Babylonian, makes it very probably that *ištahāḥin* should be treated as genuine Canaanite. It is also possible that this Canaanite form may help to explain the other marked peculiarity of the Hebrew verb, the unique Hithpa'el form. But the connection—if such there be—between the two verbs is far from clear.

³⁹ The fact that סנר is the regular word in the Aramaic portions of the OT for "worship" and that it is used in the same sense in Syriac (*e.g.*, in the Peshitto version) should not lead us to infer at once that in the four passages in Isaiah in which it is found it is to be regarded as an Aramaism. For it is quite a common word in Arabic as well. It is more likely that it was a common Semitic word.

⁴⁰ Judith x. 23, xiv. 7.

⁴¹ 4Macc. v. 12. Cf. the edict published by Grenfell and Hunt (*Tebtunis Papyri* II, No. 286) where we read "we are bound to respect (*προσκυνεῖν*) the rescript of the deified (*θεοῦ*) Trajan and of our lord Hadrian Caesar Augustus."

Greek *προσκυνεῖν* is a broad term which may be employed both with and without religious implication. That in the LXX it is usually employed with that implication is clear from the data given above. It is a decided advantage that the strong monotheistic tenor of the OT in most instances prevents us from being in any doubt as to the nature of the reverence offered to human beings. The classical usage as we have seen is not always clear upon this point. But when in the OT we read for example that Abraham "bowed himself" to the children of Heth, or that Moses "made obeisance" to Jethro, or David to Saul, or that the sons of the prophets "bowed themselves" to Elisha (in all of which the Greek has *προσκυνεῖν*), it is perfectly obvious that an act of worship cannot in the nature of the case be intended.

As would be expected, the usage of Josephus is the same as that of the OT.

c) *Προσκυνεῖν* in the New Testament. In the New Testament *προσκυνεῖν* occurs sixty times,⁴² or about one-third as often as in the LXX.⁴³ It is found chiefly in the Gospels (Mt. and Jn.) and in the book of Revelation. In about half of these instances (26 times) it describes an act⁴⁴ rendered

⁴² Including the noun *προσκυνήτης* (Jn. iv. 23).

⁴³ In the NT *προσκυνεῖν* usually, though not nearly as uniformly as in the LXX, governs its object in the dative (we find the dative 30 times; accusative, 12 times; case uncertain, 2 times; a preposition used, 4 times; verb used absolutely, 11 times). No difference in meaning is apparent. In Jn. iv., the verb is followed twice by the acc., twice by the dative, twice by a relative pronoun whose antecedent may be in either case, and it is three times used absolutely; in every case it is used of worship of God. On the other hand in Revelation, of the 11 times in which it is used of false worship in six it is followed by the acc., in the other five by the dat. Mt. iv. 10 and Lk. iv. 8 are quotations from the OT and the acc. is used there as in the LXX because in the Hebrew the verb is יָרָא (fear), which is followed by a direct object. Dr. Edwin A. Abbott (*Johannine Synonyms*) has endeavored to find a distinction in usage in the NT—a Jewish and a Gentile usage—based on the variation in the case governed by *προσκυνεῖν*. But his conclusions not merely set the Synoptics and John in direct conflict with the LXX and Rev. as regards the usage, but also necessitate an interpretation of Jn. iv. and Mt. iv. 10 (Lk. iv. 8) which is forced and fanciful, and in some respects utterly impossible.

⁴⁴ The posture assumed is indicated by the synonyms employed in

(or to be rendered) to God;⁴⁵ 14 times, to false gods (Satan or his representatives);⁴⁶ 15 times, to our Lord;⁴⁷ 3 times, to human or angelic beings (who refuse it as due to God alone);⁴⁸ once, to "a certain king"; and once, to the Church at Philadelphia.⁴⁹

This shows at the outset that in the NT as in the LXX the word is usually at least employed in the religious sense. Where offered to God or to false gods, the act is clearly one of worship, a religious act. The Bible makes no distinction between true worship and false worship as far as the act or idea of worship is concerned. It does not intimate that worship given to idols is not worship. It does not describe it as something less than worship. It is wor-

the NT. Thus Mk. i. 40 has *γωνυπετεῖν* and Lk. v. 12 *πίπτει ἐπὶ πρόσωπον*, where Mt. viii. 2 has *προσκυνεῖν*. Mt. xxvii. 29, on the other hand, has *γωνυπετεῖν* and Mk. xv. 19 *προσκυνεῖν*. Mk. vii. 25 has *προσπίπτειν*, while Mt. xv. 25 has *προσκυνεῖν*. Hesychios of Alexandria (see Schmidt's Ed.) explains *προσκυνεῖν* by *προσπίπτειν*. Cf. also the expression 'to fall on the face and worship' (Rev. xi. 16). It would seem most natural on the basis of these passages to suppose that the *proskynesis* involved kneeling and bowing the head to or toward the ground. Perhaps in some cases even throwing oneself prostrate is implied. The act is frequently spoken of as performed 'at the feet' of the one to whom it is rendered and in Mt. xxviii. 9 we find the expression "they came and held him by the feet," where the act is clearly a *proskynesis*.

⁴⁵ The passages are: Mt. iv. 10; Lk. iv. 8; Jn. iv. 20,² 21, 22,² 23,³ 24,² xii. 20; Acts viii. 27, xxiv. 11; 1 Cor. xiv. 25; Heb. xi. 21; Rev. iv. 10, v. 14, vii. 11, xi. 1, 16, xiv. 7, xv. 4, xix. 4, 10. Heb. xi. 21, which is slightly ambiguous because the verb is used absolutely, seems certainly to be included in this group. That worship of God (as an expression of thankfulness and trust) is a natural interpretation of the OT passage (Gen. xlvii. 31) is certain, and the use made of it in Heb. xi. clearly implies that it was so understood by the NT writer. In the NT *προσκυνεῖν* when used absolutely refers to God 9 times and to Jesus twice; being apparently always used of a religious act. This is not true of the LXX, where it may also be used absolutely when implying mere respect.

⁴⁶ Mt. iv. 9; Lk. iv. 7; Acts vii. 43; Rev. ix. 20, xiii. 4,² 8, 12, 15, xiv. 9, 11, xvi. 2, xix. 20, xx. 4.

⁴⁷ Mt. ii. 2, 8, 11, viii. 2, ix. 18, xiv. 33, xv. 25, xx. 20, xxviii. 9, 17; Mk. v. 6, xv. 19; Lk. xxiv. 52; Jn. ix. 38; Heb. i. 6.

⁴⁸ Acts x. 25; Rev. xix. 10, xxii. 8.

⁴⁹ Mt. xviii. 26; Rev. iii. 9.

ship misapplied, perverted to false ends; but it is worship. The Bible uses the same words to designate the one as the other and teaches that the sin of idolatry—and Paul stamps covetousness as idolatry—consists in giving to the creature the worship due the Creator. The fact that the creature has no right to receive it does not outweigh the fact that it is to the creature that fallen, unregenerate man is sure to render it (cf. Rom. i). Similarly the fact that even when offered to God it may fall far short of the ideal of true worship, or may be regarded as a direct perversion of it (e.g., Jer. vii, 2 ff.) does not prevent its being called worship. Consequently, we are able to speak of these forty instances where the *proskynesis* is offered to God or to false gods, with practical certainty as examples of the *religious* use of the word. The most likely exception is the case in the Temptation narrative, where Satan asks it of Jesus. But even there it is probable that "worship" is intended.⁶⁰ This disposes at once of two-thirds of the instances.

In the three instances where it is refused by human or angelic beings, the refusal is explained as due to the fact that the one to whom it is offered is a fellow creature and

⁶⁰ Some scholars hold that it is preposterous to suppose that Satan really demanded "worship" of Jesus. Thus, Kitto (*Bible Illustrations*) tells us: "The homage he asked was not that of Divine worship. Even the devil would not have been mad enough to ask that of Jesus." And the Roman Catholic theologians cite this passage as illustrating the distinction which they draw between *dulia* and *latria*. It is a very plausible view that Satan was merely asking for a certain amount of recognition, for the homage to which as prince of this world he might in a sense be regarded as entitled. But it is difficult and even impossible to harmonize such an interpretation with the answer which Jesus made unless that answer were taken to mean that the *proskynesis* must never be offered to any but Deity; i.e. as a definite prohibition of the broader usage as sanctioned in the OT. But this would be an interpretation which would prove too much, at least from the standpoint of those who find the broader usage of the word sanctioned elsewhere in the NT. It is far more natural to take the view that Satan's request was for worship. Dr. Riddle expresses the matter very succinctly, when he says: "That religious worship is meant, appears from the next verse" (*Commentary on Luke*). Cf. also Urwick, *On the Worship of Christ*, p. 78.

in two of them we find the injunction added, "worship [using the same word] God." This implies of course that those to whom it was rendered saw in it an act which was, or at least might readily be understood as, or mistaken for, an act of worship, and which was consequently inappropriate to a creature—a fact which gives prominence to the religious implication of the word.

In the instances in which the *proskynesis* is offered to our Lord the exact nature of the act is not at once apparent, and the question naturally arises whether it is in these instances also to be regarded as an act of worship. In deciding its character there are two matters especially which should be carefully noted:

First, in view of the ambiguity which, as has been repeatedly pointed out, always attaches to the word itself apart from a determining context, it is particularly important to remember that it is this very ambiguity which was responsible for the refusal to accept the proffered prostration in at least one and perhaps in all of the three instances just referred to in which it was offered to a creature. The argument seems to be a sound one that the fact of Cornelius' being spoken of as "a devout man and one that feared God" makes it decidedly improbable that when he prostrated himself before Peter he intended to worship him. It is of course possible that the pagan superstitions and usages in which he had probably grown up and by which he was still to some extent surrounded reasserted themselves in this moment of excitement,⁵¹ or that in view of the vision which he had received he regarded Peter as a superhuman being. But it is by no means certain that this was the case. And Peter may have refused the homage simply because it was an act of doubtful import, which might imply on the part of the one offering it, and which might be understood as implying by

⁵¹ The argument that Peter refused it because Cornelius was a Roman and might consequently be expected to attach a deeper significance to the act than a Jew, accustomed to Oriental prostrations, would do, seems at least questionable and would have no bearing upon the interpretation of the two passages in Rev.

those witnessing it, a kind of homage which it would be unlawful for him to receive. At any rate Peter's refusal to accept it points clearly to his recognition of the religious implication latent in the word. And this would be a sufficient explanation in itself of his refusal to accept it.

Secondly, in view of this attitude of the apostle, the attitude of the Lord becomes strikingly significant. As an act of doubtful import, it must, if capable of interpretation as a religious act when offered to Peter, have admitted of similar interpretation when offered to Peter's Master. Yet Jesus did not hesitate to receive it. On the lowest view this implies that Jesus had no such scruples as had his followers as to the propriety and permissibility of his accepting an act which might be understood as an act of worship. On the higher and scriptural view it implies a recognition and claim on his part that he was fully entitled to receive it not merely as an act of respect but also in its highest significance as an act of adoration and worship.⁵² And the Bible declares that Jesus claimed this right⁵³ and also spoke of the time then future when all men would recognize it. To all who are willing to admit that this is so, the question becomes merely one as to the intention of those who offered the *proskynesis* to him.

The *intention* of the "worshipper" is a matter which it is difficult to determine. Our view regarding it will be influenced by a number of different considerations: the character of the national Messianic expectation, the probable amount and correctness of the information on this point possessed by the individuals who offered this act to Jesus, their knowledge of, or about, Jesus and their attitude toward him, their conception of the act which they rendered and their motive in offering it. These and other considerations are responsible for the differences in the views which

⁵² This view has been ably presented by Hackett in his *Commentary on Acts* (at x. 25). It is a very old view. We find it *e.g.* in Athanasius.

⁵³ Cf. for example Jn. v. 23, "That all may honor the Son even as they honor the Father."

have been expressed. And it is by no means remarkable that scholars of widely divergent opinions should hesitate to assert that this act as offered to our Lord was in every instance worship. Urwick holds that it was; Liddon apparently is not certain.⁵⁴ On the other hand there are many scholars who feel that passages such as Matt. viii. 2 and ix. 18 hardly warrant the view that the petitioner had sufficient knowledge of Jesus to justify us in asserting that he intended to worship him. And it must be admitted that cogent arguments can be advanced in support of such a view and that when we think of all that was involved and implied in the act considered as a definite recognition of the deity of Christ, we are tempted to feel that it is improbable that these apparent strangers could have realized a truth which Jesus' own disciples were so slow to understand. Such being the case it is important to notice carefully the circumstances under which the *proskynesis* was offered to our Lord and the manner in which he was addressed. This latter is especially important. Thus we find him addressed not merely as Lord (an ambiguous title which may mean little or much);⁵⁵ but also as "King of the Jews" and as "Son of God" and three times it is offered to him as the risen Christ. In a majority of the fifteen instances the circumstances seem to imply that the homage offered was of so unusual a character that it would be hazardous to assert that the religious significance of the act was entirely lacking; while in several (cf. especially Matt. xiv. 33, xxviii. 9, 17; Lk. xxiv. 52) it is clearly present. And when we remember that the language is that of the inspired writer, that in the NT the word is usually employed in the religious sense, and that Jesus was entitled to receive worship, it certainly is better to assume that it was worship (even though at times of an imperfect sort) than to assert that it was not. It is not necessary to prove that it was always a high type of worship or that the full implication of the act as worship was understood by the

⁵⁴ Urwick, *On the Worship of Christ*; Liddon, *Bampton Lectures* of 1866.

⁵⁵ Cf. page 274.

one who offered it, to justify our calling it worship. We know only too well that this cannot be said of many acts which we today call worship. In our religious worship there is much that is at times perfunctory and mechanical; our singing and our praying have sometimes far more of "vain repetition" and "lip service" than of true worship. Yet we would hesitate to call it something else than worship. And while we cannot prove that in all the instances in which the *proskynesis* was offered to Jesus the act was one of worship, we are equally unable to deny that it may have been.⁵⁶ And in view of the fact that of our Lord it can certainly be said that nothing less than worship was his due, it seems better to assume that it was worship and to speak of it as such. Hesitation to call it worship may seem to imply (even if the inference is utterly without warrant) an unwillingness on our part to admit that Jesus was entitled to receive worship, i.e. as a denial of his deity. And surely it would be far worse to convey such a *false* impression than to run the risk of attributing to these persons a deeper insight into the *truth* than we can be sure that they really possessed. This procedure would be in accord with the rule laid down for the AV translators which required that in doubtful cases of this kind, the "propriety of the place and the analogy of the faith" should be consulted.⁵⁷

Two passages remain to be considered: the case of the "certain king" of Matt. xviii. 26 and of the "Church of Philadelphia," Rev. iii. 9.

In Matt. xviii. 26 we read that the "unmerciful servant," when charged by his lord with his misdeeds "fell down and

⁵⁶ In the case of the soldiers (Mk. xv. 19) it was a mockery of course, but may equally well have been a mockery of worship, as a mockery of homage.

⁵⁷ Rule 4 of the "Instructions given to the Translators" reads in full as follows: "When a word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most of the ancient fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place and the analogy of the faith." The opinions of some of the ancient fathers, insofar as they bear upon Jn. ix. 38 are referred to on p. 290 f.

worshipped⁵⁸ him, saying, Lord, have patience with me, and I will pay thee all." It would seem at first glance that this act of homage being offered to a human being must be regarded as a clear example of *προσκυνεῖν* used in the non-religious sense of an act which denoted nothing more than abject submission and imploring supplication. It cannot be denied that there is good and perhaps sufficient warrant for such an interpretation. At the same time it must not be overlooked that this is not the only possible view. Who was this "certain king"? We are not told. The imagery certainly suggests a despotic monarch. Was he the Roman emperor? The reference to the culprit, who was evidently a high official, as a "servant," and the immense sum owed by him, would favor this view.⁵⁹ But if this supposition is correct we must bear in mind that the doctrine of *divus Caesar* was at this time already firmly established and that the emperor was accustomed to be accorded divine honors.⁶⁰ We must also remember that this doctrine was a very ancient one in the Orient and satisfied a widely felt popular need.⁶¹ Had it been a custom which was hateful to and resented by the vast majority of the subjects of the emperor it would not have been the Christians alone who were brought by it into irreconcilable conflict with the Roman empire. Her-

⁵⁸ AV, RV, text; the AV margin has "or, besought him."

⁵⁹ It is not necessary of course to think of one of the satellities of the Roman emperor. In the OT we find Solomon spoken of as the servant (עֶבֶר; LXX δοῦλος) of his father David (cf. 1 Kgs. i. 19).

⁶⁰ The Greek reads ἀνθρώπῳ βασιλεῖ (lit. *a man, a king*), an expression which is rendered by "certain" in the ARV only here and in xxii. 2. It is possible, but hardly probable, that ἀνθρωπος is here used to emphasize the fact that the king was a mere man and consequently as a protest against emperor-worship. In Jn. viii. 40 ἀνθρωπος obviously means merely "person"; and the same may be true of this passage. The words "and worshipped him" belong of course merely to the details of the picture and we have no right to assume that the act was approved by our Lord as worship, or on the contrary that being used by him it is to be inferred that nothing more than homage can have been intended.

⁶¹ It has been pointed out above that it was current in Egypt and Persia. We find evidence of it in Syria and Palestine in the Amarna period and also in the time of the Seleucids and later.

od's terrible death and the occasion of it as recorded in the book of Acts supply us with a good example of this debasing custom. Such being the case it is impossible to assert that *προσκυνεῖν* is used in this passage in a non-religious sense.⁶² It is possible, perhaps not improbable, that this is the case. But it is far from certain. And to use it as a proof-text to prove that the *proskynesis* may be offered to a "creature" as is done in the ARV margin is to make a definitely dogmatic use of this narrative; an unwarranted use, since philology and history alike prove that it might be an act of worship paid to the king regarded as a god by one to whom the distinction between creature and Creator, as we use the terms, was unknown or only vaguely appreciated.

In Rev. iii. 9 the reference is to the coming of the synagogue of Satan to worship (*προσκυνεῖν*) before the feet of the church at Philadelphia. Here also the non-religious use of the word seems at first to be more suitable under the circumstances. Certainly it is natural to suppose that this persecuted church might be rewarded by receiving the respectful and submissive homage of those who had persecuted her; and the broad usage of the LXX and the close relation between this passage and Isa. xlix. 23, lx. 14 should cause us to hesitate before rejecting this interpretation. Yet here too it must be admitted that this is not the only possible interpretation. The church at Philadelphia may here be occupying a representative or mediatorial capacity, and while the words "before thy feet" may, as Rev. xxii. 8 and several passages in the OT indicate, be equivalent to a simple accusative (i.e., "worship at thy feet" may be the same as "worship thee"), it is also possible that the verb is used here absolutely and hence of the worship of God: "and worship (God) at thy feet"; i.e., in the presence, and through the

⁶² On the other hand, Urwick's, comment on this passage, "But this is, obviously, no exception, inasmuch as it was the custom of orientals to approach and address the sovereign as a god" (p. 58), is rather stronger than is warranted. A Jew might readily think of David or Solomon as the "certain king." But it shows how impossible it is to deny that the word *may* here be used in the religious sense.

mediation, of the very church which they have persecuted and despised, these one time servants of Satan shall worship God (cf. Isa. xlv. 14, lxvi. 23). This interpretation would suit the context equally well; and the only objection to it would be that it would introduce into the expression "worship before the feet of" an element of ambiguity for which there is perhaps scarcely sufficient warrant in the Scriptures.⁶³ On this account it might be better to interpret the passage as referring to homage to be offered directly to the Church at Philadelphia and not of worship of God. But none the less it is by no means certain that the word is here used in the lower sense.⁶⁴ And the emphatic declarations of Rev. xix. 10 and xxii. 9, declarations recorded in the same book and penned by the same hand, would certainly seem to favor the view that "worship" here is a religious act.

Were *προσκυνεῖν* never used in the non-religious sense, it would be possible, and, in view of what has just been said, fairly easy to justify the interpretation of the word in both of the passages just considered as describing a religious act. But, although Acts x. 25 and Rev. xix. 10, xxii. 8 f. clearly point to an effort on the part of the apostles to restrict the usage of the word, and while a similar inference might be based on Matt. iv. 10, still the broader usage of the LXX makes it questionable whether in the NT we should insist on this narrow usage in every instance, and it might be better to admit that in these two passages and perhaps even more probably in Acts x. 25 the word is used in the non-religious sense.

⁶³ Heb. xi. 21 = Gen. xlvii. 32 is however a very close parallel, since as has been pointed out above (footnote 45) the verb is there most naturally to be understood as used absolutely of worship of God, (cf. also Ps. v. 7), a construction which is not infrequent in both the OT and NT.

⁶⁴ Urwick (p. 66) thinks of the church as a sanctuary and remarks, "Now, clearly, the divine presence which was to fill the sanctuary, and not the sanctuary itself, was the ground and object of the homage to be manifested toward it." This is perhaps a little fanciful; but the "representative view" is certainly a possible one.

Our conclusion may then be summarized as follows: First, in the majority of instances *προσκυνεῖν* is clearly used in the religious sense, of an act of worship offered to God or to a being regarded as God; secondly, there is not a single passage of which it can be affirmed with entire certainty that the religious implication is lacking from the word; thirdly, the two or three instances in which it is most probable that this is the case are passages where it is certain that the one to whom it was offered was not really entitled to receive it and where we cannot be sure that worship was really intended by the offerer; fourthly, in the cases which describe the act as offered to our Lord, it is clear that he claimed, and was entitled to receive, worship from men, and that he accepted without hesitation, an act which might and in some instances at least clearly did imply worship; hence while we cannot affirm that in all cases where it was offered to him, worship was intended, it is better, all things considered, more reverent and more fitting, to assume that it was worship than to assert that it was not.

B. IS "WORSHIP" THE CORRECT EQUIVALENT OF *προσκυνεῖν*?

Having examined briefly, but we hope adequately, the use of *προσκυνεῖν* in extra-biblical Greek, in the LXX, and in the New Testament, we must now consider the question of its proper English equivalent. In the AV New Testament it is uniformly⁶⁵ rendered "worship."⁶⁶ Against the suitability of this rendering it is alleged that "worship" is now used in a too restricted sense to be accepted as the true equivalent of *προσκυνεῖν*. Our attention is called to the fact that in English of the Elizabethan period, "worship" was a broad word which could be used both in the religious and the non-

⁶⁵ At Mt. xviii. 26 the margin reads "or, besought him"; at Luke iv. 7, "or, fall down before me."

⁶⁶ "Worship" in the AV and also in the RV renders *εὐσεβεῖν* (once); *σεβάσθαι* (once); *σέβεισθαι* (six times); *σέβασμα* (AV text, once, margin, once; RV text, twice). It also renders *λατρεύειν* (four times, in two instances changed to "serve" in RV); *θεραπεύειν*, (once; RV, "serve"); the noun *δόξα* (once; RV, "glory"); *θρησκεία* (once); *νεοκόρος* (once; RV, "temple-keeper"). Cf. Schaff, *Companion*, p. 364.

religious sense. As examples of the latter usage such expressions as, "Your Worship," "Worshipful Sir," and the quaint saying in the old Anglican Marriage Service, "with my body I thee worship" are cited, and it is argued that "worship" is now used too exclusively⁶⁷ in the religious sense to be considered a proper translation of so ambiguous a word as προσκυνεῖν. Three centuries ago it was a proper rendering, because it was then just as ambiguous as προσκυνεῖν. But it is now too closely restricted to the expressing of the idea of religious adoration to permit of its employment here unless it be explained.

There is considerable truth in this view of the matter; but it is not the whole truth. It is correct to say that "worship" (*worthship*) was in the days of the AV translators a broad and ambiguous word, which might have religious implication and might not. And it is undeniable that the non-religious use was more *correct* then than now. Thus, Thomas Wilson in his *Christian Dictionarie* (first edition, 1612) states that "worship" may denote "civil reverence" and cites Matt. ix. 18 as an example;⁶⁸ and also, "immoderate reverence toward the creature" as in the case of Cornelius and of John. And in the *Westminster Annotations* (1645) there are several NT passages which are similarly explained. It is questionable, however, whether this broad usage is recognized to any extent in the AV and whether the word as there employed is really an ambiguous term. We have seen that in the LXX the word προσκυνεῖν is clearly used both in a religious and in a non-religious sense. It is used, without distinction, of worship offered to God or to false gods, and of homage offered to men. How is it rendered in the AV? If "worship" as used by the AV transla-

⁶⁷ "Worship" and its derivatives are still used to some extent in England in official titles. And we still meet it frequently in the highly colored diction of poetry, romance, and social intercourse. It would be decidedly an overstatement to speak of this word as now exclusively used in the religious sense.

⁶⁸ Kitto (*Bible Illustrations*) apparently cites from the 3d edition of this work which appeared in 1622, the year of Wilson's death. I have only had access to the 8th edition (1678).

tors covered both these senses and hence was the full equivalent of *προσκυνεῖν*, we might have expected them to employ it in both of these senses in the OT as the uniform rendering of the one word *προσκυνεῖν*. But such is not the case. *Προσκυνεῖν* is rendered "worship" regularly⁶⁹ where the act is offered to God, usually where it is offered to false gods,⁷⁰ but never where it is offered to men as men.⁷¹ In the latter instances the AV renders by "bow," "bow down," "make (or, do) obeisance," etc. This difference in the rendering may of course be due in part to the preference which the AV translators frequently show for various renderings of the same word. But the fact that they used "worship" only in the religious sense is very significant. It shows that the signification of "worship" recognized in the OT, where the usage is plainest, was the one to which we are most accustomed today—the religious sense. It implies that in the New Testament "worship," which is the uniform rendering of *προσκυνεῖν*,⁷² was likewise used by the AV translators in the religious sense.⁷³ And as we have seen the data fur-

⁶⁹ 2 Kgs. xvii. 36 is an exception (*cp.* Gen. xlvii. 31; 1 Kgs. i. 47.) The fact that it is not so rendered in Gen. xviii. 2, xix. 1 implies that it is merely a salutation. In Ps. xlv. 11 and Isa. xlix. 7 the rendering "worship" probably indicates that the AV translators clearly recognized the Messianic reference of these passages.

⁷⁰ In 2 Kgs. v. 18 "bow(down)" is used of Naaman's act as a purely perfunctory one, devoid of worship.

⁷¹ In Dan. ii. 46 the rendering "worship" implies that Nebuchadnezzar, a polytheist, gave Daniel 'divine homage.' This view is highly probable in view of the command to offer sacrifice to Daniel which is spoken of in the immediate context. It is worthy of note that the rendering "worship" is retained in the ARV. 1 Chron. xxix. 20 "and worshipped the LORD and the king" is of course a pregnant expression. Josh. v. 14 is clearly regarded as describing a theophany.

⁷² The AV translators had good warrant for confining themselves to the use of a single word in the translation of *προσκυνεῖν* in the NT. It is regularly rendered in the Peshitto NT by the single word *segedh*. (Rev. xiii. 4 is corrupt and the verb only occurs once in the Syriac text). At Jn. ix. 38 the Peshitto has, "he fell down (and) worshipped him." In the Vulgate the word is always *adoro* except in Mt. xviii. 26. There it is *orabat*. (Does *orabat* represent the corruption of an original *adorabat*?)

⁷³ The appointment of a special committee to oversee the work of the AV translators for the express purpose of removing such inconsisten-

nished by the NT itself support this view to no inconsiderable extent. For it is undeniable that in the NT "worship" is usually employed in the religious sense; and it is at least possible as we have seen that where it renders *προσκυνεῖν* it is always so used. The only certain example of its use in the lower sense is Lk. xiv. 10, where as the rendering of the noun *δόξα* it is, as Wilson points out, clearly used in the sense of "fame, glory, praise."

This implies that it is not so much the biblical usage which has changed in the course of the last three centuries, as the common usage. "Worship" in the AV apparently meant almost exactly what "worship" means in the RV. It was there used, at least in the vast majority of instances, in the religious sense and it is now used in the religious sense. It may of course be argued that the verb "worship" was uniformly employed in the NT because the AV translators knowing the difference of opinion among scholars regarding the use of *προσκυνεῖν* in the NT, allowed for, and in rendering another word definitely recognized, the wider meaning of "worship." This may be so. But if they were clear in their own minds that there were passages in the NT in which *προσκυνεῖν* merely implied "reverence" it would be natural to expect that they would in such instances have rendered it by another word, as is done in similar passages in the OT; and this for the reason that in the AV "worship" is so generally employed in the obviously religious sense.

It seems clear then that insofar as the usage has changed—by becoming more closely restricted to the religious sense—this is to be attributed to the influence of the AV. For whatever may be said of the difference between the

cies as were almost certain to be found in the work of six companies working at three different places (see, Schaff's *Companion*, p. 318, rules 4 and 15), would lead us to expect that in the case of a word of as frequent occurrence as *προσκυνεῖν* an inconsistency in rendering which was at all marked would have been detected and removed. The fact that in the AV of Isa. xlv. 14, xlix. 23, lx. 14 the rendering is "fall down," "bow themselves down," while in Rev. iii. 9 we have "worship"—the same applies to Gen. xlvii. 31 = Heb. xi. 21—is in view of what has been said above, hardly a proof of a broader usage in the NT.

popular use of the word "worship" in the 17th century and at present, the change has been toward the usage of the AV, not away from it, and this change, furthermore, has been due to the AV. For the prominence of the religious idea in the word "worship" as used in the AV could not fail to influence the readers of this version. Consequently, while it is true that as generally employed "worship" is now less closely equivalent to *προσκυνεῖν* than it was three centuries ago, it is also true that it now corresponds more closely to the sense in which it was employed in the AV than it did at the time when that version was prepared. And since the AV translators used this word preferably—perhaps all but exclusively—in a religious sense, we may well hesitate to base our objection to it on the ground that it is now so generally restricted to that sense.

II

THE MARGINAL COMMENT UPON THE WORD "WORSHIP" IN THE ARV

In the preceding discussion the effort has been not so much to show that there is abundant warrant for the claim that the word *προσκυνεῖν* is an ambiguous term—to do that is not difficult—but more especially to call attention to the nature of that ambiguity and to the extent to which it appears in the Bible and particularly in the NT. We have seen that it is a word which may mean relatively little or vastly much; that the act of prostration may imply religious adoration, or merely the respect or homage which might be properly offered to a human superior; that it may be offered to God, to idols, or to men; that it may be the expression of real emotion and that it may also be nothing more than an outward form, a perfunctory and perhaps an unwilling act. It has also been pointed out that while the word "worship" as used in the early 17th century, had both the broad and narrow meanings which are fundamental in the Greek word and which it still retains to some extent, the AV translators used it preferably in the narrow, i.e. religious sense—

a policy which determined the biblical usage of the word and of which the more restricted popular usage of today is probably the direct result.

As we take up now the question of the advisability or necessity of explaining the word "worship" by a marginal comment we will be concerned of course primarily with the comment standing in the margin of the ARV. But before considering this comment in particular it will be wise for us to consider first the question whether a comment is actually needed and what must be the nature of such a comment if it is to be really helpful or at least unobjectionable; and also to examine in some detail the policy of the revisers with reference to the addition of such comments with a view to ascertaining whether they pursued a consistent policy in this important matter. Then we will be ready to consider the objections to the comment which appears in the ARV. We will, therefore, consider the following three topics: the need of a comment and the comment, if any, needed; the policy of the revisers with regard to explanatory comments; and the objections to the comment in the ARV margin.

A. THE NEED OF A COMMENT.

Since the only valid reason for the adding of an explanatory comment to the word "worship" is to explain the ambiguity of this word or of the word which it renders, it is important that in considering the need of a comment we should keep constantly before us the exact nature of the ambiguity to be explained. This is, as has been indicated, of two kinds; it has to do with the act itself in the *intention* of the one performing it and with the *status* of the one to whom it is rendered. The *act* may be one of *worship* or of *homage*; the *recipient* may be a *creature* or the *Creator*. The question arises, Is it necessary to explain both of these characteristics?

In answering this question, we observe that the second of these distinctions, the fact that the object of the act may be the creature as well as the Creator, is one which is clearly indicated in the Bible; for it is one of the plainest declara-

tions of Scripture that, because of the fallen state of man, "worship" is not reserved as it should be for the Deity alone. Not merely does man worship demons and idols; he even worships his fellow-man and the brute creation. The OT is full of condemnation of, and warning against, the sin of worshipping any but God. And it is manifest that it was a sin to which the Israelites were peculiarly susceptible. It would seem then to be superfluous to point out that "worship" might as a matter of fact—not, of course, as a matter of right—be offered to the creature as well as to the Creator. Anyone who is at all familiar with the Bible ought to know this and should be able to draw the natural and necessary inference that the fact of worship being rendered to a person is not in itself any convincing or adequate proof of his right to receive it and hence of his deity. The OT speaks of *worship* of God and of idols and tells us that Nebuchadnezzar *worshipped* Daniel. The Epistle to the Romans speaks of the awful state of the heathen world in this particular and the Apostle frequently warns the Christian to beware of such practices. Certainly the *status* of the one receiving⁷⁴ the *proskynesis* hardly needs special comment or emphasis in view of these facts.

It is somewhat different when we consider the question of the *significance* of the act and the *intention* of the one performing it. It might be argued that Matt. xviii. 26, and Rev. iii. 9 (perhaps also Acts x. 25)⁷⁴ make it sufficiently obvious that "worship" may be used in the lower and non-religious sense to render a comment unnecessary, so that we might content ourselves with adding at most a cross-reference to one or all of these passages. An objection to this lies in the fact that, as has been pointed out above, the word "worship" is in the OT so rigidly restricted to the rendering of *προσκυνεῖν* when used in the *religious* sense, that one unfamiliar with Greek and with the LXX usage would be far less likely to recognize and admit the possibility of the

⁷⁴ Lk. xiv. 10 cannot be cited, since in the ARV "glory" has been substituted for "worship."

word represented by "worship" in the NT being used in the non-religious sense than he would be were he acquainted with all the facts. Consequently there is considerable justice in the contention that the "plain man," the student of the English NT, should have his attention called to the fact, well known to the student of Greek, that the word under discussion may be used in a non-religious as well as in a religious sense. This is not only the chief and fundamental ambiguity of the word; it is also the one which the reader is less likely to think of.

If we admit that to explain the word "worship" would be a help to the reader—and we are prepared to do this, while at the same time unable to admit that it is necessary—the question as to the *form* of the margin and the method of *insertion* becomes at once of vital importance. As regards its form, this comment should concern itself chiefly if not exclusively with the fundamental ambiguity of the word explained—with the fact that the word may be used both in a religious and non-religious sense. And it should indicate this if possible by means of a *variant rendering*, e.g. "Gk. *to prostrate oneself*." This would be the simplest way to call attention to this ambiguity. This variant would direct attention to the act as fundamentally physical—an act of *prostration*—and would thus connect it with the same act so often referred to in the OT as indicative of homage or worship. If this were not regarded as adequate, the margin might receive the form: "The Greek word denotes an act of worship or homage." This would call attention to the main ambiguity and the word "homage" by pointing to the non-religious use of the word should make it superfluous to say anything about the *status* of the one to whom it is offered.

The problem of the *insertion* of such a note is not an easy one. "Worship" occurs about seventy-five times in the NT, being in sixty of these instances the rendering of προσκυνεῖν. Since, in a large majority of these passages it is perfectly manifest that a religious act is described, it would seem to be

unnecessary and a useless cumbering of the margin to insert the comment or even to refer to it by a cross-reference at every occurrence of the word. On the other hand it should be clearly recognized that it is impossible to insert it at some passages and to omit it at others without incurring the risk of being misunderstood and of being charged with inconsistency and even with dogmatic bias. The fact that only about half of the instances where the word "worship" occurs in the NT are commented upon in the ARV implies that the passages in which the word is not explained do not have the same word in the original, but another word which is not ambiguous and which is used only in the religious sense; and the fact that the comment is omitted in all the passages in John which speak of "worship" of God and inserted in the one passage which speaks of "worship" of Christ looks very much like dogmatic bias. If the comment is not to be inserted every time—the need of economy of space would oppose this—the only way in which it can be consistently inserted would be to place it in the margin of the *first* occurrence of the word in the NT (as is done in the case of "Gentiles," Matt. iv. 17)—if it be considered especially important that it be not overlooked, it might be repeated at the first occurrence in every book of the NT in which the word is found—with the words "*and so elsewhere,*" or, "*etc.*" added. And it might be still better to leave it out of the margin altogether and simply place it in the Preface.⁷⁵

B. THE POLICY OF THE ARV WITH REFERENCE TO EXPLANATORY COMMENTS.

Since it is but a commonplace to say that the ambiguity and non-equivalence of words and phrases is the *crux interpretum*, the thing above all others which makes the perfect translation a *pium desideratum*, and since there are obviously many other ambiguous words in the NT besides προσκυνεῖν,

⁷⁵ The ARV discusses a number of difficult words in the "Preface." And in the "Corrected English NT" (1905) the ARV margin (*not* in the form given at Jn. ix. 38) is referred to with approval in the Preface, but no comment appears in the margin.

the question we have been considering, viz. the advisability of adding a comment to the word "worship" cannot be divorced from the larger question as to the propriety of admitting any marginal comments, which cannot be strictly classed as variant readings or renderings. The AV and RV adopted the policy of admitting such comments. We are not concerned at present with the correctness of the decision, but the manner in which it was applied is a matter which is of vital importance. Did they pursue a consistent policy in the matter?

It has been already pointed out that the rule, "No marginal notes at all to be affixed but only for the explanation of the Hebrew and Greek words, which cannot without some circumlocution so fitly and briefly be expressed in the text" was broadly interpreted by the AV translators and also by the English and American revisers. Both in the AV and the RV the marginal comments are in the main *variant readings* or *variant renderings*. The variant rendering may be merely a literal rendering; it may be one intended to bring out a shade of meaning wanting in the rendering given in the text; it may even give a widely different though still possible rendering. Such being the case it would have been natural to expect that the marginal comment to this word would have the form "Gk. *to prostrate oneself*." Such a variant rendering as intimated above would call attention to the primary significance of the word—to the fact that it designated an external, a physical act. It would also suggest the broader meaning of the word and connect it with the Oriental prostrations frequently referred to in the OT. And if consistently employed, it could hardly be regarded as objectionable, unless the policy of the AV and RV with regard to variant renderings is to be rejected *in toto*. It might of course be regarded as unnecessary and attention might be directed to the fact there are other words which have no variant.⁷⁶ But the policy of the revisers with regard

⁷⁶ Thus we have seen that it is only in Mt. xviii. 23 and xxii. 2 that "certain" is the rendering of *ἄνθρωπος*, in the expression "certain king,"

to variant renderings is in the main sufficiently clear and consistent to justify such a variant rendering if they desired to insert it.

On the other hand the group of *explanatory* comments is quite a small one. There are comparatively few words whose meaning or usage is *explained*. Most of these are names of coins, titles of officers or officials, etc., comments which are of a purely objective character and might be classed as definitions, and it is obvious that this group should, if admitted at all, be kept as small as possible.⁷⁷

The general policy followed by the revisers in the matter of marginal explanations to the text can best be illustrated and ascertained by citing a few instances of other words which present very much the same difficulties to the translator as does the word *προσκυνεῖν*.

Κύριος.—One of the best examples in point is the word *κύριος*. This word is found more than 700 times in the NT⁷⁸ and is at least a dozen times as frequent in the LXX. It is perhaps the one word of which *προσκυνεῖν* can most appropriately be called the correlative. Except that this title is apparently not given to false gods, the two words are equally broad and ambiguous in meaning.⁷⁹ Any being who may be called *κύριος* may properly receive the homage of prostration. The title is applied to God, to the Messiah, to Jesus, to earthly kings, rulers, masters, husbands; in short to anyone whose position entitles him to worship or respect. In the English NT when applied to God, to our Lord, or to the Holy Spirit, it is written "Lord," but when applied to men

and that in the former passage it has an important bearing upon the interpretation. Yet there is no variant (literal) rendering added in the margin. Similarly in John xvi. 21 "man" is *ἄνθρωπος* (human being) not *ἀνὴρ*. Yet there is no comment.

⁷⁷ This is apparently the reason that *e.g.* "publican" and "wine-skins" receive comments, but "centurion," "pentecost" and "synagogue" do not.

⁷⁸ It is about a dozen times rendered "master" and less frequently "sir," "lord" appearing a few times in the margin.

⁷⁹ Adenay, *Hasting's Dictionary*, art. "Worship" speaks of the "two senses" in which the Greek word *proskunein* is used, and of the "ambiguous usage" of the title *kurios*.

(except when the word stands in the vocative, cf. e.g. Matt. xxv) it is written "lord," a distinction which, from the standpoint of the revisers' comment on "worship," with its insistence on the distinction between creature and Creator, is far from adequate. The title "Lord" as given to Jesus might and sometimes does imply recognition of his Deity. Yet the revisers have nowhere added a comment to remind us that κύριος is a title which may be given alike to the creature or to the Creator, despite the fact that in this country, "Lord" is a title which is practically reserved for the Deity.^{79a}

OTHER WORDS FOR "WORSHIP." It has been pointed out that although προσκυνεῖν is the word in the NT most frequently rendered "worship," it is not the only word so rendered. Let us glance at these other words. Several compounds of the root ΣΕΒ occur in the NT. Σεβέσθαι is used of worship of God and also of worship of an idol. Σεβάζεσθαι is used of worship paid to the creature, instead of to the Creator. Ἐνσεβεῖν is used of worshipping an idol, and also of caring for one's family. Σεβαστός is a title given to the Roman emperors; it also appears in the NT in the form Σεβαστή, as the name of a Roman legion. Σέβασμα denotes an object of worship. Σέμνος and σεμνότης are used of qualities or conduct proper and appropriate to men (Phil. iv. 8 is perhaps an exception). Ἀσεβής, "godless" is perhaps more correctly "impious" or "wicked" in view of the fact that in the LXX it renders עשׂה; it does not necessarily involve the religious notion. In fact, there is not one of the derivatives of this root occurring in the NT except θεοσεβής (and here it is the θεο- that determines the usage) which cannot be used in both the religious and

^{79a} How difficult is the task of deciding whether a comment is needed—assuming that, as in the case of the ARV, marginal comments are to be admitted—is shown by even a cursory consultation of Cruden's *Concordance*, a book which has passed through unnumbered editions and is still one of the most widely used 'Bible-helps.' In Cruden "worship" receives no explanation, but "lord" is explained under two heads and ten subheads.

the non-religious sense. Yet not one of them is explained by a marginal comment. There are several other words which present about the same general ambiguity.⁸⁰ Yet in none of them is the ambiguity of the word indicated. The only word other than *προσκυνεῖν* in the case of which this ambiguity is explained is *θρησκεία* (Col. ii. 18) and we are strongly inclined to question the correctness of the view that it ever means anything else than *worship*.

Other examples of words which by virtue of their meaning and usage are ambiguous might easily be cited.^{80a} But these will suffice to establish our contention that it is not the policy of the ARV to explain words which are ambiguous in the sense that they may contain a religious notion and may not. The question may, then, naturally be asked, Why did the American revisers make this one noteworthy exception? This question we will seek to answer more fully later on. It will suffice at present to call attention to the fact that none of these unexplained words which are rendered "worship" are ever used of our Lord prior to his resurrection.

Looked at from a broad and general standpoint it may be said that, aside altogether from doctrinal questions, there are two serious objections to the addition of marginal comments. It is difficult and almost impossible to be consistent in the matter; and to single out this or that word for comment and leave others unexplained is open to misunderstanding. Besides this it is scarcely less difficult to

⁸⁰ *Λατρεύειν*, usually rendered by the colorless "serve" is in two places (Lk. ii. 37; Phil. iii. 3) rendered "worship," and *λατρεία*, "service" is in Heb. ix. 1 rendered "divine service"; while in Rom. xii. 1 the margin reads "worship."—*Λειτουργεῖν*, *λειτουργία*, *λειτουργός* are used both of ministering to God and to man.—*Δοξάζειν*, "to glorify" is generally used of glorifying God or Christ, less frequently of glorifying men (*e.g.* Rom. viii. 30).—Yet no marginal note calls attention to the difference in usage.

^{80a} An especially good example is the word "fear." It is a word which gravitates between abhorrence and love, between craven terror and reverent and adoring worship. Certainly if the policy of the revisers were to be consistently applied, 1 Pet. ii. 17, Eph. v. 33 and 1 Jn. iv. 18 suffice to prove that this word is sufficiently ambiguous to require explanation. Cruden gives about one third of a column to it.

make the comment both adequate and unobjectionable, without unduly cumbering the margin.

A good illustration of this difficulty is furnished by the comment on certain verses in John xxi which tells us that "*Love* in these places represents two different Greek words." This is a perfectly correct statement of fact. But there are these two serious objections to it: First, it is utterly inadequate. It does not state what the two words are, which are referred to, or what is the difference in meaning or in usage between them. As it stands the note is almost meaningless. Secondly, it is misleading because it is exceptional. A man unfamiliar with the facts might readily infer that everywhere else in the NT "love" is represented by a single word. This is of course not the case. *Φιλᾶν* occurs about 25 times (rendered three times by "kiss") and *ἀγαπᾶν* about five times as frequently. And it is not even the case that this is the only passage in which these two verbs occur in the same immediate context. We find a striking example of the same phenomenon in John xi, where *φιλεῖν* occurs in v. 3 and *ἀγαπᾶν* in v. 5; similarly in John xv the one verb is used once, the other 5 times; and in Rev. iii. each of the verbs is used once. The same is true of many other words.⁸¹

⁸¹ In Lk. i. we have *three* different words rendered by "blessed," *εὐλογήμενος* (v. 42), *μακάριος* (v. 45), *εὐλογητός* (v. 68).—In Lk. vii. 42, 43, "forgive" is *χαρίζεσθαι* (in v. 21 it is rendered "bestow"), a word not elsewhere used in the Gospels, but found in Acts and the Pauline Epistles. It is a much stronger word than *ἀφίημι* (the word usually rendered "forgive") which is used in vs. 47, 48 of the same chapter.—*Καινός* and *νέος* "new," both occur in Mt. ix. 17 (*cf.* || *pass.* in Mk. and Lk.); and in the expression "new (man)" (Eph. ii. 15, iv. 24 and Col. iii. 10) the adjective is *καινός* in Eph. and *νέος* in Col.—In Jn. xix. 35 and 1 Jn. ii. 8, "true" appears twice in each verse, but is in each represented by two Greek words *ἀληθής* and *ἀληθινός*.—In 1 John, "life" is the rendering of three different words. *Ψυχή* and *βίος* occur but twice each (in iii. 17, *βίος* is rendered by "the world's goods"); *ζωή* occurs twelve times. In iii. 14, 15 it is *ζωή*; in iii. 16 it is *ψυχή* (twice); in ii. 16 it is *βίος*, in ii. 25 *ζωή*. But there is no comment in the margin of 1 Jn. In view of this fact the comment at Jn. xii. 25 "*life* in these places represents two different Greek words" is incomprehensible. Like the similar one in John xxi, it means little or

Examples such as these serve to show that in a Bible intended for general use it would be wise to omit all such comments. Certainly to comment on one passage and leave similar passages without explanation; to expound one word and pass over other words of the same character is inconsistent and is likely to lead to misapprehension by giving the version the appearance of a minute scholarly exactness and thoroughness, which in the very nature of the case—the ARV is not a commentary—is out of the question. To avoid inconsistency in the insertion and omission of comments; to make the comments adequate and comprehensible without unduly cumbering the margin or usurping the legitimate function of grammar, lexicon, and commentary; and to avoid the intruding of personal preference and dogmatic bias—this is a task the difficulty of which can hardly be exaggerated; and the fact that the ARV which is in many respects so scholarly and highly commendable a version should show such manifest failure to accomplish it,⁸² goes a long way toward vindicating the wisdom of the decision long ago reached by the American, and by the British and Foreign, Bible Societies that they would circulate the Bible “without note or comment.”

nothing to the English reader. And to insert it at John xii. 25 alone is most inconsistent in view of the data just given regarding 1 John and the further fact that in Jn. x. 10, 11 the same two words (ζωή and ψυχή) occur as in xii. 25, the only difference being that they are not in the same verse.

⁸² The comment, “The Greek word here used signifies both *covenant* and *testament*” which is inserted in the margin of Heb. ix. 15 f., is plainly intended to explain why διαθήκη is rendered “covenant” in vs. 15 and 20, but “testament” in vs. 16 and 17. But the expression “here used” certainly suggests and implies that a different word is used here than in the thirty other cases where “covenant” occurs in the NT, about half of which are in Hebrews, and this is of course not the case.—The mention of the fact that in 2 Tim. ii. 26 “In the Greek the two pronouns are different” may lead to misapprehension. The use of ἐκεῖνος after αὐτός may denote a change of subject (it would be very natural to infer that the note was intended to point this out); yet in Thayer’s *Lexicon* this very text is cited as a case where the subject remains the same.

C. THE COMMENT OF THE REVISERS ON "WORSHIP."

In discussing the comment upon the word "worship," which is inserted in the margin of the ARV, there are two points to be considered: the comment itself and the manner of its insertion. We will take them up in inverse order.

a) The Manner of Insertion. In the "Appendix" to the ERV the comment is stated as follows: "At the word 'worship' in Matt. ii. 2, etc., add the marginal note 'The Greek word denotes an act of reverence, whether paid to man (see chap. xviii. 26) or to God (see chap. iv. 10)'. The "etc." would seem to imply that the revisers intended the comment to apply equally to all passages in which the word "worship" occurs in the NT and either to be inserted, referred to by cross-reference, or omitted, in all subsequent passages alike.

In the ARV we do not find any such consistent policy as is indicated in the "Appendix" carried into effect. Apparently no rule has been strictly followed in the insertion or omission of the note. It is added to only one word besides *προσκυνεῖν*—*θρησκεία*—and only once to it,⁸³ although, as we have seen, there are five other words which are sometimes so rendered in the NT and equally deserving of the comment. In the case of *προσκυνεῖν*, it is not inserted or referred to by a cross-reference at every occurrence of the word; it is not confined to the first occurrence of this word in the NT or in the individual books; it is not restricted to the passages where it might be most naturally regarded as really required by the context. Instead we find it in thirty-four of the sixty passages in which "worship" is the rendering of *προσκυνεῖν*. Thus, it is appended to four passages in Rev.,⁸⁴ which speak of true worship as plainly as do any passages in the entire Bible; yet it is omitted in all the other NT passages (16 in all, 5 of which are in Rev.⁸⁵), in which worship

⁸³ *θρησκεία* is only once (Col. ii. 18) rendered "worship." In three other passages it is translated "religion." *θρησκός* (religious) appears only once.

⁸⁴ Rev. v. 14, xiv. 7, xv. 4, xix. 10 (end).

⁸⁵ Rev. iv. 10, vii. 11, xi. 1, 16, xix. 4.

of God is referred to. On the other hand we find it inserted or referred to in every instance which relates to worship of false gods (the devil, the beast, etc.), except Acts vii. 43. It appears at all the other passages in the NT except Matt. ii. 11 (perhaps an oversight) and Heb. i. 6.

This system or rather lack of system as regards the inserting or omission of the comment is decidedly unfortunate, especially in view of the fact that "worship" renders several words in the Greek. When the reader finds "worship," when used of adoration offered to God, five times in Rev. without the note and four times with it, he is entitled to infer that at least two different Greek words occur in this book. If he knows Greek, he will be all the more likely to infer this.⁸⁶ But the only word used for "worship" in Rev. is *προσκυνεῖν*. He is also entitled to infer that the word which is not annotated is a stronger because unambiguous word than the one which is commented upon. But this is not true of any of these other words and as a matter of fact the word without comment is a little more likely than not to be *προσκυνεῖν*, since it has no note twenty-six times, while the other words are rendered by "worship" only a dozen times in all. The fact that when used of the worship of the devil and the beast, "worship" is almost always annotated, might lead him to think that a lower form of worship, something less than worship, is involved in these latter instances. Such an inference would be false and unwarranted. The Greek uses the same word in nearly all passages⁸⁷ and the Bible clearly teaches that it is because it involves the giving to the creature of that glory and honor which is due to the Creator alone,

⁸⁶ The fact that in Acts xvi. 14, xviii. 7, 13, xix. 27 where "worship" receives no comment the word in the Greek is *σέβεσθαι* would naturally lead one to expect that in vii. 43 the same word is to be found, but there it is *προσκυνεῖν*. And one who knew that in these four places in Acts the verb is *σέβεσθαι* might suppose that in the five passages in Rev., which have no comment, it is *σέβεσθαι*, but no, it is *προσκυνεῖν*. This shows that the comment is as confusing and misleading to the man who knows Greek as to the one who does not.

⁸⁷ *Σέβεσθαι* is rare in both NT and OT and can hardly be said to be stronger than *προσκυνεῖν*; and certainly *λατρεύειν* is not).

that the sin of idolatry is so peculiarly heinous a sin. And the fact that the note is sometimes added to passages which describe the worship of God simply adds to the confusion. If added in some of the passages which refer to worship of God, consistency demands that it should appear in all. If omitted where the worship of God is mentioned, it should also be omitted where worship of false gods is spoken of. If omitted where worship of God or of false gods is referred to, it cannot be inserted where worship of the Lord is described, without involving or implying dogmatic bias and unjust discrimination. And to insert it at Matt. xviii. 26 and Rev. iii. 9 (perhaps also at Acts x. 25 and Rev. xix. 10, xxii. 8) alone, although hardly open to objection on dogmatic grounds, would unless carefully guarded be misleading and imply that different words are used in these passages. Such a comment must either be inserted every time or else inserted in such a way that it cannot fail to be understood as referring equally to every occurrence of the word, or it will inevitably lead to misconstruction and error.

b) The Comment Itself. In the Appendix to the ERV it reads as follows: "At the word 'worship' in Matt. ii. 2, etc., add the marginal note 'The Greek word denotes an act of reverence, whether paid to man (see chap. xviii. 26) or to God (see chap. iv. 10).'" In the ARV, at Mt. ii. 2, it reads, "The Greek word denotes an act of reverence whether paid to a creature (see ch. 4.9; 18. 26) or to the Creator (see ch. iv. 10)". This may be regarded as the standard form of the comment in the ARV margin. It is to be noticed, however, that it occurs both with and without the parentheses. The form with the parentheses (as it appears at Mt. ii. 2) is referred to by cross-reference 10 times in Matt. (all except ii. 11 and iv. 10). And the same proof-texts are given in Mk. v. 6, and referred to at Mk. xv. 25. The form without parentheses is found in Lk. iv. 7 (where Matt. ii. 2 is referred to by cross-reference), Act. x. 25 and Rev. iii. 9 and is referred to by cross-reference in Lk. xxiv. 52 and 17 times in Rev., i.e., in more than half of the anno-

tated passages. The only other form of the comment is that found at Jn. ix. 38, which substitutes for the proof-texts appearing after the word "creature" the words "as here." There are no cross-references to this form of the comment.

Let us look first at the statement itself and then at the parentheses or proof-texts.

1) The *Form* of the Comment. It is obvious that the substitution of the word "creature" for "man" avoids a very noticeable defect in the form of statement contained in the "Appendix." "Man" and "Creator" are mutually exclusive, it is true, but they are not all inclusive categories. The devil and the beast are certainly not men; but they are creatures. The categories "creature" and "Creator" are mutually exclusive and taken together are all inclusive; and the former is obviously the proper correlative of the latter. The only objection which can be made to this part of the explanation as corrected is that it has to do solely with, and in view of its antithetic form lays especial emphasis upon, the *status* of the one to whom the act is rendered, not upon the act itself, although as we have argued the latter is the more important and less obvious feature.

The other significant word is "reverence." It is the only word which bears upon the character of the act in itself, upon the fact that *προσκυνεῖν* may denote either an act of respect or of worship. So considered, it can hardly be regarded as satisfactory. There are several objections to it. The first is that the word itself is one which does not occur with sufficient frequency in the Bible to be appropriate. In the AV it only occurs about a dozen times and is apparently no more frequently used in the ARV. A comment of this kind should be expressed in as nearly biblical phraseology as possible.⁸⁸ The second is that the word "rever-

⁸⁸ The problem of phraseology came up in connection with the 'running headlines.' And in the Preface to the ARV New Testament, we read: "In preparing them it has been the constant aim to avoid as far as possible all pre-commitments, whether doctrinal or exegetical; and with this object in view, the forms of statement employed have been drawn in the main from the Biblical text." What applies to the running headlines, applies no less to the marginal notes.

ence," while admittedly an ambiguous word, only hints at the ambiguity of *προσκυνεῖν*, but cannot be said to indicate it clearly. And it is perhaps fair to say that it does more justice to the non-religious than to the religious meaning of the word which it explains. "Reverence" is in the ARV certainly more nearly a synonym of "respect" or "honor" than it is of "worship."⁸⁹

It is clear that the comment itself is so worded as to centre the attention rather upon the *status* of the recipient of the act than upon the character of the act itself, upon the secondary rather than upon the primary ambiguity of the word. This characteristic is still further accentuated by the proof-texts.

2) The Proof-Texts. The proof-texts cited or referred to in all but one instance (Jn. ix. 38) are these: Matt. iv. 9, xviii. 26, cited as instances of the act as paid to a creature, and Matt. iv. 10, of the act as paid to the Creator. We have already examined these passages in another connection. It is only necessary to point out that they emphasize the importance of the status of the recipient of the act in a way which is likely to lead to misapprehension. Thus the fact that in citing the Temptation narrative (Matt. iv), verse 9 is referred to as an example of reverence paid to a creature and verse 10 as an example of the same act paid to the Creator, would seem to imply that worship does not mean the same in both verses; that Satan did not ask for worship—being a creature he would not be entitled to that—but only for a certain amount of recognition. This would read into the narrative a subtle distinction which is, as has been indicated above, at least questionable and we believe decidedly improbable. For the reply of the Lord makes it very plain that Satan was asking for worship; i.e., that he was

⁸⁹ In Esther iii. 2, 5; Mt. xxi. 37; Mk. xii. 6; Lk. xx. 13; Heb. xii. 9, it is used of respect to a human being. In Lev. xix. 30, xxvi. 2 it is used of respecting the "sanctuary." Only in Ps. cxi. 9 and Heb. xii. 28 (cf. Ps. xlv. 11) is it used apparently of the proper attitude to be assumed by the devout toward God and not even in these passages is worship clearly implied.

asking to be treated as one entitled to receive divine honors from the Lord. And it seems obvious to us that to cite a passage in which Satan was apparently demanding for himself the recognition of his claim to 'equality with God' as an example of 'reverence offered to a creature' is decidedly out of place and misleading.

The same is perhaps true of Matt. xviii. 26, with reference to which it has already been pointed out that we cannot infer with certainty from the fact that the "certain king" was in all probability a man, that he would not expect or demand that he be worshipped as a god.

In neither of these passages is the actual status of the one to whom the act is rendered or by whom it is demanded a matter of prime importance, and for the reason that it cannot determine for us the character of the act. In both of these passages it may have been and in the first of them it probably was an act of worship which was referred to. And as has already been pointed out, the fact that the devil is accustomed to receive worship from his devotees is one which is so clearly taught in the NT, especially in Rev., that it certainly should not need to have special attention directed to it.

Matt. iv. 10 refers of course to worship of the Creator. But even this example does not quite fill the requirement as a proof-test. For the fact of its being ostensibly offered to God would not prove the prostration in every instance to be an act of true worship. Like Naaman's worship in the temple of Rimmon the act might be perfunctory and less than worship, just as in Matt. xviii. 26, the act might be worship though offered to a mere mortal.

III

THE COMMENT ON JOHN IX. 38.

We pass now to the third form of the note, that given in explanation of Jn. ix. 38, the one verse in John in which the revisers regarded "worship" as standing in need of marginal comment. The verse forms the climax of Jesus' interview with the man born blind: "And he said, Lord, I

believe, and he worshipped Him." There the note has the following form: "The Greek word denotes an act of reverence, whether paid to a creature (as here) or to the Creator (see ch. 4. 20)." Not only is this the only one of the twelve passages in John which is commented on, but this form of the comment occurs in the NT only here. Of all the forms of the note this is the most noteworthy for the reason that the objections which bear against it are the most serious.

We observe then, first of all, that this note is of an *undeniably dogmatic* character. It has been pointed out that the comment and its proof-texts emphasize the *status* of the one worshipped, instead of the *nature* of the act, and that they do this in a way which suggests a dogmatic rather than a philological and historical explanation. Here this is carried to an extreme.

This comment is a clear cut and positive assertion that the one to whom the blind man offered the *proskynesis* was a creature. The parenthesis, "as here," affirms this of Jesus in exactly the same way that the proof-texts which appear in the usual form of the first parenthesis are made to assert it of the "certain king" and of the devil. This is the only possible meaning which can be gathered from the words "as here," which follow immediately on the word "creature" in the statement: "The Greek word denotes an act of reverence, whether paid to a creature (as here), or to the Creator (see ch. 4. 10)." And it is all the more necessary to draw this inference because it is as we have seen the actual, not the putative, status of the recipient which is especially emphasized in these other proof-texts. An emphatic denial of the deity of Christ could hardly be more concisely and positively stated than by the insertion of the two words contained in this parenthesis. The 'text' states that the *proskynesis* was paid to Jesus; the 'margin' states that the person to whom it was paid was a creature and sets him in sharp contrast to the Creator. The inference is unavoidable that Jesus is here affirmed to be a

creature. That such a comment has no place in a version of the New Testament intended for the use of evangelical Christians, is too obvious to need any proof. It would be acceptable to Jews. It expresses the belief of Ebionites, Gnostics, Arians, Socinians and Unitarians, who at different times in the history of the Church have assailed the deity of Christ. But the Church has always opposed such a view and has at times endured the bitterest persecution on this account. The doctrine of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, that he was begotten and not created, very God of very God, One with the Father in all the attributes of deity, has been and is today the belief of the Christian Church. And it is this that is definitely denied in the note under discussion.

It will be objected that this is too strict a construction of the words, "as here," that they are not intended to state things as they are, but rather to indicate the (probable) mental attitude of the man born blind in offering the prostration to Jesus. Dr. Riddle has definitely stated that this was the case, that the revisers merely intended to indicate what they believed to be the standpoint (as described by the Evangelist) of the man who had received his sight, and not to imply that his attitude was a correct one.⁹⁰

This explanation cannot be regarded as satisfactory, and chiefly for two reasons. First, whatever may have been the intention of the revisers in the matter, the statement itself can have only one meaning. It purports to tell us who the person *was* whom the blind man worshipped, not whom the blind man *supposed* him to be. There are no quotation marks or other indications to show the reader that this note is intended to express the view of the blind man and not that of the revisers, or rather that it was meant to express the revisers' opinion regarding the intention of the blind man and not their opinion regarding the person of the Lord. And the analogy of the proof-texts already discussed inclines us to regard this as a dogmatic, rather than a purely philo-

⁹⁰ Cf. p. 304 f. where Dr. Riddle's statement is given in full.

logical or historical, explanation. Yet a distinction such as this, slight as it may seem to be, makes of necessity a tremendous difference. When the rulers of the Jews said to Pilate: "Write not, the King of the Jews; but, that he said, I am King of the Jews," they were practically asking no more than that the title, King of the Jews, be put in quotation marks that it might be clearly understood as expressing the claim of Jesus, instead of being baldly stated as a fact. Only a slight change was suggested; but the implications of that change were vastly significant. They might have said: "What difference does it make? It is only intended to state his audacious claim. There is no real truth in it" But they were not content with this. They demanded that it be changed, because on its face it clearly maintained what they emphatically denied, that Jesus was in reality King of the Jews. And the same applies here. These words are a positive affirmation that the one who claimed in this very context to be the Messiah, the Son of God, was a creature. Language could hardly affirm it more plainly. We are told that it merely represents the opinion of the blind man. But it does not say so; there is nothing to indicate that such is the case; and the analogy of the other proof-texts is strongly against this construction of it. As it stands it is an offence to every true Christian, because it is a clear denial of the deity of his Lord.

Secondly, if it was the revisers intention merely to describe the state of mind of this man, as Dr. Riddle assures us was the case, we are confronted with the question, Why were the revisers so concerned to inform us that the blind man saw in Jesus only a creature? Why were they not content with the usual form of the comment? Any statement which they could make would be at the best nothing more than an opinion. They could not possibly know what this man, who had been granted this peculiarly unique experience of the power of Jesus to heal, thought about his Healer. They could not possibly know that he saw in him "a creature." Their statement even if taken as representing the

opinion of the healed man is unparalleled; they have made no effort to sound the mental processes and test the spiritual insight of any of the other confessors of Jesus, e.g. of Peter at Caesarea Philippi, or Thomas in the Upper Room. It leads us to ask whether the narrative itself or the consensus of scholarship—to use a popular, but much overworked phrase—either warrants or requires such a comment.

A. THE TESTIMONY OF THE NARRATIVE.

Does the NT narrative indicate that the blind man saw in Jesus a man, a creature? The narrative tells us that in the course of his controversy with the Pharisees and as a result of it, this man who had received his sight reached the conclusion and stated it publicly, that Jesus was a “prophet,” and that his exercise of power proved him to be “from God.” For this bold defiance of the authoritative explanation—“we know that this man is a sinner”—he was “cast out.” And this verdict taken in connection with the reason given for the reticence of his parents—the threat that anyone who should confess Jesus to be Christ should be put out of the synagogue—may be regarded as implying that his confession came within the terms of this threat; it may also be thought of as merely a punishment for his obstancy and presumption. The record then tells us that Jesus found him subsequently and asked him definitely whether he believed on the Son of God,⁹¹ and that when Jesus, in answer to a further question of the blind man, declared that he himself was that one to whom he had just referred, the blind man “worshipped” him. Then Jesus in pointed language contrasted the unbelief of the rulers with the faith of the

⁹¹ The reading “Son of man” is preferred by Tischendorf and by Westcott and Hort, and has been accepted by many scholars—von Soden, however, prefers the other reading. The question of the reading is not of very great importance, since “Son of man” is a Messianic title, used by our Lord himself as equivalent to the title “Son of God” (cf. especially Mt. xxvi. 63 ff). Zahn thinks that “Son of God” can easily be accounted for as an early substitute for “Son of man,” “because the combination *πιστεύειν εἰς* occurs nowhere else in the entire NT with this self-designation of Jesus.”

ignorant man. It is evident that unless as a result of this second meeting the blind man came to see in Jesus one who was much more than a prophet, the interview cannot be said to have added much, if at all, to his spiritual insight or to his knowledge of Jesus. It is also evident that the greater the faith, the clearer the spiritual vision, of this man, the more manifest would be the contrast to which Jesus alluded between his sight and their blindness. They had said, "As for this man (τοῦτον), we know not whence he is"; the blind man accepted Jesus' claim to be the "Son of God" and "worshipped" him. Thus the narrative clearly favors the interpretation of "worshipped" as a religious act. And this is confirmed by the fact—often referred to by the commentators; and recognized by the revisers, who add the comment nowhere else in this Gospel—that in John προσκυνεῖν is regularly used in the religious sense. And it should be remembered that it is John the Apostle, the author of the Gospel, who describes this act as a *proskynesis*.⁹²

The marginal note seems therefore very doubtful even when considered, not as what it is, but as what Dr. Riddle tells us it was intended to be, a statement of the mental attitude and intent of the blind man. Not merely is there no evidence in the narrative to show that this man regarded the Lord to be a creature. There is good ground for maintaining that with Thomas he was able to say to him, my Lord and my God. That such is the obvious implication of the narrative is shown by the fact that from early times the blind man's word and act have been held up as typical of a true Christian confession. And even if this were, not demonstrably the case, would it not be better, more reverent, more truly Christian, to attribute to the blind man a true conception of Christ rather than to assert positively that he had a false one?

⁹² If it were certain that Rev. was written before the Gospel, Rev. xix. 10 and xxii. 8 f. would argue strongly for the religious interpretation. The Gospel is however usually regarded as the earlier. But aside from this the view that in the Gospel, John regularly used the word in this sense is very generally accepted.

B. THE VIEWS OF COMMENTATORS AND THEOLOGIANS.

We turn now to consider the opinions regarding this passage which have been expressed by Christian scholars. It might naturally be inferred from the explanation of the comment on John ix. 38 given by Dr. Riddle that the majority of biblical scholars or at least those best qualified to express an opinion are agreed that the blind man saw in our Lord a creature, a created being, and rendered to him an act of homage and not of worship. This is emphatically not the case. On the contrary the view that this man accepted without question Jesus' statement and worshipped him as the divine Messiah has always been the prevailing one in the Church. It will not of course be possible to give, and it is unnecessary to attempt, anything like an exhaustive review of the history of opinion. But the following brief survey should suffice to convince the reader that the high view of the passage has been and is the one most generally accepted.

We find it clearly advocated in the Early Church. It is set forth by Augustine and Cyril of Alexandria in their Commentaries and by Chrysostom in his Homily.⁹³ The use made of this or similar passages shows clearly that it was also the view of Tertullian, and Jerome; Origen and Athanasius.⁹⁴ The view of Augustine has been especially frequently quoted.

⁹³ Since the authorities quoted in the following survey are in the main commentators whose opinions can easily be ascertained by turning to their exposition of this passage, the reference is in most instances omitted. Only in those cases in which the statement of opinion is not easily verifiable is its source given.

⁹⁴ Tertullian argues that Jesus revealed himself to the blindman as that Son whom he had announced to him as the right object of faith (*quem credendum esse dixerat*). Cf. Adv. Praxean, xxii (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. XV)—Jerome in his *Comment. on Ezekiel* (Migne, XXV. p. 87) assert that the heretics who declare the Son of God to be a creature and yet worship (*adoro*) him, by their own confession worship a creature, but that the Christians worship the Son of righteousness. This certainly implies that his rendering of John ix. 38 *At ille ait: credo, Domine. Et procidens adoravit eum*, should be taken as indicating that he saw in the words and act of the blindman a recognition of the deity of Christ.—It is unfortunate that the section

In the Mediaeval Period we find it in the Commentaries of Bede (who follows Augustine, but does not mention him), Alcuin (who apparently follows both Augustine and Bede; but mentions only the former), Walafrid Strabo, Theophylact, Bruno, Rupert of Dietz, Thomas Aquinas (in his *Cate-na Aurea*, he quotes both Bede and Chrysostom), Cardinal Hugo and Nicholas de Lyra.⁹⁵

In the Reformation and Post-Reformation period, we find it held by Aretius, Brentius, Faber Stapulensis, Flacius Illyricus, Marloratus and Piscator and apparently by Erasmus and Oecolampadius.⁹⁷ It is the view of Drusius, Grotius, Cocceius and Calovius. We find it apparently in the Westminster Annotations (1645). It is advocated by John Owen, Robert South, Bengel, Wm. Burkitt, Doddridge, and Lampe; by Trapp, Matthew Poole, Matthew Henry, Gill, Guyse, Scott and Adam Clarke; by Bishop Huntingford and by Richard Watson.⁹⁶

If we turn to the commentaries which have appeared since about 1850, we find that this view is advocated by many

of Origen's *Commentary* which expounds this passage is wanting. His treatment of Matt. xv. 21f. seems, however, clearly to imply that he would have interpreted this passage in the high sense.—Athanasius in his *Letter to Adelphius* argues in opposition to the Arians that the fact of our Lord's having come in the flesh did not prevent his being worshipped as God and he refers to the leper (Mt. viii. 2) as having so worshipped him. Cf. also the *2nd Discourse against the Arians*, where he contrasts Peter's action (Acts x. 25) with the attitude of Jesus.—Kitto (*Bible Illustrations*) in commenting on Mt. ii. 2 f. says: "it is certain that the Christians from a very early date deduced, either from this adoration, or from the gifts offered, or from both, an argument even then that Christ was God." And he adds the footnote: "so Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, etc."

⁹⁵ It is the view of the standard Roman Catholic expositors Maldonatus and A Lapide; of Calmet, La Haye (who quotes Menochius and Tirenus), Haneberg and Schanz. It is held by the Abbé Fouard, by Schegg and by a number of recent writers—as also by such 'heretics' at Corn. Jansen, Quesnel and A. Loisy.

⁹⁶ For Drusius and Grotius, cf. Pearson's *Critici Sacri* (1660); for Owen, his *On the Person and Glory of Christ*, p. 170; for South, the *Sermon* on "The Misapplication of God's Judgments"; for Guyse, the *Paraphrase*; for Huntingford, *Thoughts on the Trinity* (1832); for Watson, his *Theological Institutes*, chap. xv. in Vol. X of his "Works."

of the foremost biblical scholars. Among them there are certainly few if any which are more generally regarded as standard or have been more widely used by ministers than those of Godet, Lange, Meyer, Milligan and Moulton, H. Olshausen and Westcott. Yet every one of these scholars asserts that the blind man *worshipped* Jesus. Thus, Godet: "In these circumstances, in which there was neither pardon to ask for, nor supplication to present, the genuflexion could be only a homage of worship, or at least of profound religious respect. The term *προσκυνεῖν* to *prostrate oneself*, is always applied in John to divine worship (iv. 20 ff., xii. 20)"; Lange (Schaff): "The *προσκυνεῖν* denoted adoring worship"; Meyer: "John uses *προσκυνεῖν* solely of *divine* worship, iv. 20 ff., xii. 20"; Milligan and Moulton:⁹⁷ "The simple and immediate answer shows how little remained to be done to make his faith complete. Not with bodily sense only, but in his heart, he has seen Jesus; he has heard His word; he believes and worships the Son of man, the Messiah, his Lord"; Olshausen (Kendrick) argues that the narrative shows that the blind man must have seen in Jesus more than a prophet and that he accepted Jesus' claim to be Son of God without question and worshipped him. He refers in this connection to John x. 30 ff. and in discussing that passage points out how clearly it asserts the *essential deity* of the Lord; Westcott: "In St. John 'worship' (*προσκυνεῖν*) is never used of the worship of mere respect (iv. 20 ff., xii. 20)."

⁹⁷ Professor Milligan and Dr. Moulton were members of the English Company of Revisers. At the request of Dr. Philip Schaff, the President of the American Committee, they prepared the Commentary on John, which appeared in the "International Revision Commentary on the New Testament" (1883) and in the "International Illustrated Commentary" (1888), both of which Dr. Schaff edited. In the Preface to the former Dr. Schaff writes: "The authors were among the most active and influential members of the New Testament Revision Company, and helped to make the authoritative changes of reading and rendering in the Jerusalem Chamber which are here explained and vindicated. Bishop Lightfoot told me I could not have selected two better scholars for this work in all England and Scotland."

We find much the same view in the commentaries of Astié, Besser, David Brown, Dean Burgon, Butler (Bible Work), G. W. Clark (A People's Commentary), Hengstenberg, Hovey (American Commentary), Keil, Jacobus, McClymount (New Century Com.), Plummer (Cambridge Bible for Schools), Reynolds (Pulpit Com.), Rice (Peoples Com.), Ryle, Sadler, Watkins (Handy Com.), Whitelaw, and in the recent devotional expositions of Erdman, Foulkes, A. T. Robertson, and Speer. It is advocated by such preachers as Simeon, Spurgeon, Joseph Parker, Moody and Alexander Maclaren. It is the view of Cunningham Geikie, Ellicott and Liddon and is especially strongly defended by Edersheim.⁹⁸

In view of this strong array of witnesses Rice's statement: "However widely the views of evangelical scholars may differ as to the true reading 'Son of God' or 'Son of Man'; they generally agree that it is here said that the man offered divine worship to Jesus," can hardly be regarded as too strong.

It must not be supposed however that there is entire agreement even among the scholars just referred to as to the exact character of the worship paid to Jesus. Some of them, e.g. David Brown and Hovey, are of the opinion that the man did not fully appreciate the significance of his act. And there are a good many who hesitate on this account to *assert* that it was an act of worship. Calvin, with his customary caution hesitates in view of the ambiguous character of the word to specify how much was implied in the act of the blind man: yet he believes that it "denotes something rare and exceptional"; that the man was "convinced that Jesus was *the Son of God*," but did not realize that "he was God manifested in the flesh." He calls it an act of "rapturous admira-

⁹⁸ For Robertson, cf. *The Divinity of Christ in the Fourth Gospel*; for Simeon, the *Horae Homileticae*; for Spurgeon, *Sermon of Aug. 11, 1872*; for Parker, *The People's Bible*; for Moody, *Men of the Bible*, VI, p. 103; for Maclaren, *Expositor's Dict. of Texts*; for Ellicott, the *Hulsean Lectures* of 1859; for Liddon, the *Bampton Lectures* of 1866.

tion." Similarly Trench⁹⁹ argues that we need not suppose that the man "knew all that was contained in that title Son of God"; yet Trench tells us that the man "fell down at the feet of Jesus as of one more than man, with a deep religious reverence and fear and awe." Similarly Zahn is of the opinion that the man at this point had come to "adoring faith in the grace of God which had manifested itself to him in Jesus." These and other views which might be quoted show a certain hesitation to assert that the man had come to a clear realization of the deity of his Healer. But these expressions are utterly different from the emphatic denial in the form of a positive assertion which we have in the margin of the ARV.

There is also quite a considerable group of scholars of whom Holtzmann and Bernhard Weiss may be regarded as representative who take what might be called a *non liquet* attitude. They hold that it cannot be proved that the healed man intended to "worship" Jesus. And in view of the importance which has been attached to the Johannine usage by Westcott and many others who hold the high view, they assert that the fact that John elsewhere uses *προσκυνεῖν* only in the religious sense, does not necessarily prove that such must be the case in this instance also. But their argument is negative rather than positive and they take a cautious, non-committal attitude. That they should feel obliged to do this is only to be expected in view of the fact that the entire trend of the narrative is against them. For even as radical a scholar as A. Loisy does not hesitate to assert that the context shows that it means true adoration, and that this may be also inferred from the Johannine usage.

In view of this the comment in the ARV is all the more remarkable. It is not as we have seen a statement of the man's probable opinion regarding the One who healed him, but a dogmatic statement as to the actual status of Jesus. But even as an interpretation of the healed man's attitude it represents an extreme view, which it is difficult to duplicate.

⁹⁹ *Notes on the Miracles*, p. 248.

Not merely does it conflict with the "high view" which as has been indicated has, to say the least, too strong backing to be ignored in a "standard version," but it goes beyond the negative view of Weiss and definitely *asserts* that the healed man saw in his healer a mere man. This is an extreme of dogmatism which is it hard to account for.

If we would find in the statements of commentators or theologians any such definite assertion that the healed man merely paid homage to a creature, as the one which stands in the margin of the ARV, we must turn to avowed Unitarians.¹⁰⁰ Channing, in his "Discourse on Christian Worship," after referring to the broader meaning of προσκυνεῖν—he does this in a way which would seem to imply that Trinitarians wilfully conceal the fact—makes the statement, "We are sure that the worship paid to Christ during his public ministry was rendered to him as a divine messenger and not as God." Similarly Ezra Abbot in his elaborate essay *On the Construction of Romans ix. 5*, affirms: "There is no clear instance in which any New Testament writer speaking in his own person, has called Christ God."¹⁰¹ And he continues a few sentences further on: "But it may be said that, even if there is no other passage in which Paul has called Christ God, there are many in which the works and attributes of God are ascribed to him, and in which he is recognized as the object of divine worship; so that we ought to find no difficulty in supposing that he is here declared to be 'God blessed for ever.' It may be said in reply, that the passages referred to do not authorize the inference which has been drawn from them; and that if they are re-

¹⁰⁰ Such a statement as the following: "Nor does it appear that those who worshipped Christ [prior to his resurrection] had any appreciation of his being God; they only considered him as the Messiah, or as some eminent prophet" (cf. Bishop Burnett's *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, Article II), is certainly very exceptional coming as it does from the pen of a convinced Trinitarian. (Cf. John Wilson, *Unitarian Principles confirmed by Trinitarian Testimonies*, p. 459, where this and several other similar statements are quoted, only one of which however bears directly upon John ix. 38.)

¹⁰¹ *Critical Essays*, p. 364.

garded as doing so, the unity of God would seem to be infringed."

C. THE OPINIONS OF THE REVISERS.

The significance of the statement just quoted, coming as it does from a member of the NT Company, can hardly be exaggerated. The reader has probably been asking himself how, in spite of the evidence which has been cited in favor of the view that the healed man intended to worship Jesus, a comment came to be inserted in the margin of the ARV which cannot mean less than that he looked upon Jesus as a "creature" and which strictly construed certainly indicates that the revisers intended to assert that such was Jesus' actual status. The fact that Dr. Abbot was a Unitarian¹⁰² is therefore of the first importance. How objectionable the rendering "worship" of the AV and RV must have been to him on *dogmatic* grounds, is evident from the above quotation. Since, as is well known, Dr. Abbot was an influential member of the American NT Company, it would be natural to regard him as largely responsible for the comment as it appears in the Appendix of the ERV; and this for two reasons. He was as has been just indicated the one member of the NT Company to whom the rendering "worship" was seriously objectionable on dogmatic grounds. For, as ordinarily understood, it implied a view of the Person of Christ, which he regarded as infringing the doctrine of the unity of God. Besides this the comment is as has been pointed out so phrased as to meet the very objection raised by Dr. Abbot, by emphasizing the fact that the *status* of the one worshipped may be that of "a

¹⁰² It is worthy of note that it was because of the attitude of the English revisers that the choice of members for the American Committee was not restricted to the "leading evangelical denominations of the United States." Dr. Schaff suggested that it should be thus restricted (see *Doc. Hist.* p. 3) and the name of Dr. Abbot is not contained in the list suggested by him (p. 32). But in the list proposed by Dr. Angus of the British Committee Dr. Abbot's name appears. And Dean Stanley in a letter to Dr. Schaff emphasized the point that scholarship was to be "the sole qualification desired" (p. 45).

creature." Equally obvious is it that although as will appear later he cannot be held directly responsible for it, the comment in the form found in the margin of John ix. 38 would in its plain and obvious sense correctly express his views.

Dr. Thayer was evidently closely associated with and a great admirer of Dr. Abbot. He drew up the Minute adopted by the NT Company at Dr. Abbot's death; became his successor at Harvard; edited his *Critical Essays*. That Dr. Thayer was a Trinitarian, I am assured on good authority.¹⁰³ But that he had strong sympathy with Unitarianism is undeniable. In his translation of Grimm's *Clavis*, a work which was his greatest contribution to theological learning, and which is usually spoken of as "Thayer's *Lexicon*," he not infrequently refers to opinions at variance with those expressed by Grimm.¹⁰⁴ But although in his treatment of *προσκυνεῖν* Grimm has only two heads: "Homage shown to men of superior rank" and "homage rendered to God and the ascended Christ, to heavenly beings and to demons," and places all of the instances in which the *proskynesis* was offered to Jesus prior to his resurrection, including John ix. 38, under the first head, Dr. Thayer adds no note or comment to indicate that he differed with Grimm upon this point and did not share the latter's theological views. Certainly if strongly opposed to the Unitarian position he might have been expected to take definite issue with the views expressed under the heads *ᾧς τοῦ θεοῦ* and *πνεῦμα*. So also in editing the volume of Dr. Abbot's *Critical Essays*, Dr. Thayer apparently felt under no obligation to make it clear that he did not share the views so strongly advocated by Dr. Abbot.

¹⁰³ In the "Minute," just referred to we find the statement, "Differing from the rest of us as he [Dr. Abbot] did in some of his theological tenets, his Christ-like temper rendered him a brother beloved, and lends a heavenly lustre to his memory." The reference to "the rest of us" seems clearly to imply that in his Unitarian views Dr. Abbot stood alone. Dr. Schaff (*Companion*, pp. 387, 395) states that there was one Unitarian on the British, and one on the American, Committee. The American was of course Dr. Abbot.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Preface, p. viii.

It is certainly difficult to understand how a convinced Trinitarian could have been willing to edit the *Critical Essays*. For it would be hard to find a volume in which the Unitarian position is more ably defended than by Dr. Abbot in some of these essays. And in the case of a scholar so highly esteemed for intellectual honesty and integrity as Dr. Thayer, such an action could only mean that he was far from sure that Dr. Abbott's view was not the correct one.

It is thus apparent that there was one and quite an influential member of the NT Company, Dr. Ezra Abbot, who would have regarded this comment in its obvious significance, i.e. as a denial of the deity of Christ, a correct statement of fact. It is also clear that Dr. Thayer, whatever his personal views, entertained great respect for the Unitarian position and treated it with marked consideration, and that this comment is entirely in accord with a statement in the *Lexicon* which bears his name and to which he takes no exception.

On the other hand it can be clearly shown that this comment as it stands in the margin of John ix. 38 could not have been acceptable to the members of the NT Company as a whole.

That this comment could not have been acceptable to at least a *considerable minority* can be safely inferred from the action of the revisers regarding the reading "Son of God" in vs. 35 of the same chapter. This reading is retained in the ARV text, although Tischendorf, and Westcott and Hort both prefer "Son of man." And its retention is significant because one of the arguments which have been used by those who hold the view that the blind man paid divine adoration to Jesus is the fact that the Lord in this very passage styled himself "the Son of God":—"Dost thou believe on the Son of God?" It is true that there are scholars of the first rank who hold that as used by Jesus and as understood by the Jews the title "Son of man" implied as much as "Son of God." This may be inferred from the fact that in answering the high priest Jesus used the one

title though the high priest had used the other. Still the circumstance that in laying his trap for the Lord that he might charge him with blasphemy, the high priest used the title "Son of God" is strong evidence for the view that it was regarded by the rabbis as the strongest and clearest Messianic title. It is at least clear that taken by itself it emphasizes the thought of the deity rather than of the humanity of Christ. Thus Holtzmann, who as we have seen argues that the Johannine usage does not suffice to prove that the blind man worshipped Jesus, adds this remark: "But if υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ were the correct reading, the man who had been blind might be regarded as having attained to full spiritual sight, just because he had recognized Jesus as the Son of God in a higher sense." There is considerable force in this argument. The question of the reading is not vital to the interpretation if the high view is held, but it has an important bearing on the adoption of the low view. It is a little hard to say the least to see how men who believed that this man saw in Jesus only a creature and accorded him the homage due to a "superior human being" could have preferred the reading "Son of God" to the reading "Son of man" in verse 35, especially when as Edersheim points out the testimony of the Mss. is so equally divided. Certainly men who intended to insert the marginal comment which stands in the ARV at John ix. 38 and asserts that the blind man paid homage to a creature would not likely have stultified themselves by retaining that reading in the text which was the less favorable of the two to the view they adopted. This is certainly a very definite indication that this comment never received the approval of the members of the NT Company as a whole. It would imply much more but for the fact that "Son of God" was the reading of the AV text and therefore could not be changed without a two-thirds vote. It does show, however, that a considerable minority must have been opposed to it.

That this comment could not have been carefully considered and approved by even a *majority* of the members of the

NT Company is clear when we acquaint ourselves with their views upon the doctrine involved. The following data will suffice to establish the correctness of this statement.

Dr. BURR has furnished us with abundant evidence with regard to his view on this important question in his article "Incarnation" which appeared in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopaedia*. This article leaves no room for doubt that he was a firm believer in the essential deity of Christ.

Dr. CROSBY's view is clearly set forth in his *True Humanity of Christ*. He tells us that Jesus' "tacit reception of the title 'King of Israel' from the mass of Israelites, was the assumption of divine honors" (p. 18); that "the Christ of the Bible is God over all" (p. 22); and that "Christ's essential deity existed necessarily at all times and in all places" (p. 41). And in his *Annotated New Testament* while maintaining that the title "Son of man" was one "which Jesus used for himself to impress the fact of his humanity on men," he does not state in commenting on John ix. 38 that the act of the blind man was less than worship, although we do find a statement to that effect regarding the act of Cornelius (Acts x. 25).

Dr. DWIGHT's opinion can be learned negatively from the fact that in his notes to the American edition of Godet's *Commentary*, he takes no exception to the high view therein expressed; and positively from his elaborate discussion of Rom. ix. 5¹⁰⁵ in which he maintains the view that Christ is there declared to be "God over all."

Dr. HACKETT (*Commentary on Acts*) in discussing the nature of the *proskynesis* offered by Cornelius to Peter calls attention to the fact that "Our Saviour, on the contrary, never repressed the disposition of his disciples to think highly of his rank and character. . . . This different procedure on the part of Christ we can ascribe only to his consciousness of a claim to be acknowledged as divine."

Dr. HODGE has given us the data necessary to the determining of his view regarding this passage in the chapters on

¹⁰⁵ *Journ. Soc. Bib. Lit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 22-52.

"The Divinity of Christ" and "The Person of Christ" in his *Systematic Theology*. It is evident that he believed that Christ was the object of religious worship while on earth. And in his *Commentary on Romans* he takes the last part of ix. 5 as referring to Christ.

Dr. KENDRICK in commenting on Heb. i. 6 and xi. 21 in his *Commentary* on that Epistle takes "worship" in the religious sense. In his translation of Olshausen's *Commentary* he takes no exception to the view there advocated that in Jn. ix. 38 the blind man on the basis of Jesus' statement that he was the "Son of God" worshipped him as such, nor to the exposition of Jn. x. 30-36 where this title is explained as asserting the "essential equality of the Son with the Father." That this view was shared by Dr. Kendrick there can be no question.

Dr. ALFRED LEE was for nearly half a century bishop of the diocese of Delaware of the Protestant Episcopal Church. That he was entirely in accord with the doctrinal teachings of his denomination cannot be questioned. How pre-eminent was the place which our Lord occupied in all his thinking and teaching is well illustrated by the closing words of his little treatise *On Baptism*. "Let each doctrine and each precept, each truth and each duty, occupy its proper place, as taught by Apostles and exhibited on the sacred page. And then all will point to Jesus, all will converge in Christ crucified, and whatever be the immediate text or subject, men will be summoned to 'behold the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world.' They will be brought to 'believe in the Son of God, and believing, they will have life through his name.'"

Dr. RIDDLE has expressed his trinitarian views very clearly in his *Commentary on Romans*. In expounding chap. ix, verse 5, he sides with Drs. Burr, Crosby, Dwight, Hodge and Smith in referring the closing words of the verse to Christ. In his *Commentary on Luke* he asserts that the devil asked "religious worship" of Jesus. Consequently the comment on xxiv. 52 "As he went up: hence a

more exalted worship than the homage accorded Him during His ministry," cannot, as will presently be shown, be regarded as supporting the marginal comment as it stands at John ix. 38.

Dr. SCHAFF in his *Companion* asserts that the revisers did right in insisting on the comment which is found in the "Appendix" to the ERV. Yet Dr. Schaff there says of Matt. ii. 2 "probably here in the sense of religious adoration." In his *Commentary on Matthew* he says that in ii. 2 "worship" is "no doubt used in the sense of religious adoration." On the other hand in commenting on viii. 2 he says of the leper, "He performed an act of homage which was not necessarily religious worship." There is no comment on this word at xviii. 26. Dr. Schaff's belief in the deity of Christ is clearly set forth in his *The Person of Christ; The Perfection of His Humanity viewed as a Proof of His Divinity*.

Dr. H. B. SMITH has stated his view in his *System of Christian Theology*. He argues that Jesus is God, that while on earth he claimed and received divine worship from men, and that he is called "God" in the NT—Romans ix. 5 must he holds be understood as referring to him (cf. p. 57 ff.).

Dr. WASHBURN as appears clearly in his *Epochs in Church History* was in some respects a theological liberal. But it is perfectly plain that while he believed that there had been development in Christian doctrine from the very beginning, he was no less sure that the fundamental creed of the Church was the creed of the Apostles. Thus he says of the Nicene creed: "The faith in such a Christ [i.e. the Christ of the Incarnation] as it is cited by St. Paul, contains all that the Nicene symbol expresses" (p. 37). "Undoubtedly the argument of Athanasius was true. There was and is no middle ground in theology between the acceptance of the essential divinity of Christ, and that of his pure humanity. The faith in the God-Man could only be in harmony with the unity of God by the faith in the eternal, uncreated, ever-living Logos. Theology declared in scientific form what

lay in the original faith" (p. 48). His strong trinitarianism appears in other statements in this volume and equally unmistakably in his *Social Law of God; Sermons on the Ten Commandments*.

Dr. WOOLSEY has given us in *The Religion of the Present and the Future* and especially in the last sermon in that volume which is entitled "The Religion of the Future" a very definite statement as to what he considered to be the essentials of Christianity and the permanent value of the Christian system. This sermon makes it certain that Dr. Woolsey should be regarded as a pronounced Trinitarian. He argues that "it is the doctrine of the NT that the dispensation which was introduced by Christ is to continue until the end of the world" (p. 373); he cites "the doctrine that the Word became flesh, that God sent His Son to redeem men from sin" as an example of what is "especially Christian, as distinguished from natural religion and from the conclusions of human reason" (p. 387). His whole aim is to prove that unless the "religion of the future" is the Christian religion, the religion which accepts Christ as divine Savior and Lord "the world of the future will be doomed" (p. 402).

Drs. CHASE, HADLEY and SHORT were laymen whose studies were mainly along secular lines. Dr. Chase was an Orthodox Friend; Dr. Hadley was a Congregationalist; Dr. Short was an Episcopalian. I have not been able to obtain any information with regard to their views upon this particular comment.

These data make it clear that it *could not* have been the intention of the members of the NT Company to deny the deity of the Lord. That doctrine was far too precious to them and they were much too loyal to the historic faith. It implies that insofar as the majority of the revisers had anything to do with it, it must be regarded as merely expressing their opinion regarding the conception which the healed man had of his Healer. But this is obviously not enough. To prove that the members of the NT Company could not

have intended to deny the deity of Christ is one thing; to prove that this comment is so phrased as to make it impossible to place such a construction upon it is a very different matter. And it is the fact that the comment is so phrased as to make it not only natural, but in our opinion necessary, to place such a construction upon it, which constitutes the strongest reason for its removal. For it may be regarded as certain that most of the NT Company would have desired to avoid the possibility of such a mistaken interpretation at all costs. Furthermore it is clear that, however we regard it, whether as expressing the opinion of the revisers regarding the opinion of the healed man concerning the person of Christ, or their opinion regarding the opinion of the Evangelist concerning the person of Christ or concerning the healed man's opinion, or as expressing their own opinion regarding the person of Christ—in any case the comment must be admitted to be a *dogmatic* comment. As a dogmatic comment it can have no right or place in the margin of the ARV. As a dogmatic comment it is ruled out by the definite policy of the revisers as stated in the Preface. For if in the matter of the cross-references and running head lines it was their "constant aim to avoid as far as possible all pre-commitments, whether doctrinal or exegetical," we certainly should be entitled to expect an even greater effort to avoid dogmatic bias in the matter of the marginal notes, to which they attached still greater importance.

D. DR. RIDDLE'S EXPLANATION OF THIS COMMENT.

It was pointed out above that at the time of the publication of the ARV in 1901—and indeed since the death of Dr. Kendrick in 1895—there were but three of the members of the American NT Company surviving, Drs. Dwight, Riddle and Thayer. It has also been stated that these three survivors—Dr. Riddle speaks of them as editors—definitely claimed for the ARV New Testament as published in 1901 the authority and sanction of the NT Company as a whole, declaring that they had "not felt at liberty to make new

changes of moment which were not favorably passed upon by their associates at one stage or another of the original preparation of the work." This statement has been very properly made use of by the publishers, who have naturally sought to combat the notion that the ARV of 1901 was "only the work of those who were alive when the work was published." Not merely is it emphatically asserted that this notion is utterly without foundation in fact; but the names of all the seventeen members of the NT Company are definitely connected with the volume published in 1901.¹⁰⁶ Such being the case it was not only proper and advisable, but even necessary for us to determine the opinions of as many of the revisers as possible, with a view to ascertaining whether or to what extent this comment can properly be attributed to them and is therefore entitled to claim their authority. And we have found that taken in its plain and obvious sense it is directly opposed to the expressed opinions of a considerable majority of them, a conclusion which it is

¹⁰⁶ On the inside of a folder issued by Nelson and Sons and intended to give definite and authoritative information with regard to the ARV, we have a brief catechism as it were with 23 questions and answers. The 17th question and answer read as follows:

"Q.—Is the American Revised Version the work of the whole Committee, or only the work of those who were alive when the work was published?

A.—The American Revised Version is the work of the whole Committee, because the survivors themselves declare that no changes were made by them that were not considered and agreed upon by the whole Committee. A careful and minute record was kept of the discussions and decisions from the very beginning of the work, so that at any time reference could be made to this and the opinion of each individual member known on every question."

On the fourth page of the folder, the names of the members of the Revision Committee (both Companies) are given, and the following note is appended to the list of the members of the NT Company:—"Note—By Dr. Philip Schaff—The American New Testament Company lost by death Prof. James Hadley (who attended the first session), d. 1872; Dr. Henry Boynton Smith (who attended one session, and resigned from ill health), d. 1877; Dr. Horatio B. Hackett, d. 1876; Dr. Charles Hodge (who never attended the meetings but corresponded with the committee), d. 1878." It is to be observed that this note makes no reference to the losses suffered by the NT Company subsequent to the publication of the ERV in 1881.

difficult to reconcile with the policy of the editors as stated by them in the Preface.

In view of this apparent *impasse* we are fortunate in being able to refer to a definite statement by Dr. Riddle bearing upon this very point. We owe this statement to the following circumstances. About ten years ago Bishop Burton of Lexington, Ky., wrote to Nelson and Sons protesting against this comment as it appears at John ix. 38. This letter was referred to Dr. Riddle with the request that he reply to it through them. Nelson and Sons have kindly supplied the present writer with a copy of this, and also of another, letter and in view of their importance they are here quoted in full:

April 28, 1909.

Rt. Rev. and Dear Sir:

Your note of inquiry to Messrs. Nelsons was referred to me by them, with the request that a reply be sent to you through them.

Personally, I should have preferred to omit "(as here)" in the marginal note to John 9: 38 but my colleagues in the preparation of the American Revised New Testament were influenced so far as I can recollect, by the various reading in V. 35 where the oldest authorities have "The Son of Man" instead of "The Son of God," so Westcott and most critical editors. Hence while the Greek word rendered "worshipped" as you rightly say, in the other instances in this Gospel, refers to the worship of God, it is highly probable that this healed man prostrated himself at the feet of Jesus without any full apprehension of his Deity or Divinity even.

I admit the justice of your remark in regard to "taking sides" but from the point of view of my associate editors, the note was deemed a statement of fact not of opinion. For myself, as already stated, I preferred the omission of the phrase you criticise.

In commenting on this verse in the Sunday School Times I stated (March 1, 1908) "while the Marginal Note in the Revised Version is in general correct, in this Gospel every other instance points to the worship of God."

With assurance of respect for your candor in this inquiry, I am

Very truly yours,

(signed) M. B. RIDDLE.

P.S.—I may add that Doctrinal prejudice did not enter into the question, for the three editors were Pres. Dwight, of Yale and Prof. Thayer, both of them Congregationalists, and myself, Trinitarian.

In the case of the second letter the name of the addressee has apparently not been preserved. It does not appear in the letter.

Nov. 14, 1910.

Dear Sir:

A copy of your notes to Messrs. Nelson has been sent by them to me. In reply would say that the Marginal note at John 9:38 in the Standard New Testament refers exclusively to the restored blind man's estimate of our Lord, whom he, according to this note, regarded as a "creature." It has no reference—or was not intended to have—to the Evangelist's view of the Person of Christ, and should not be used as a proof-text in any discussion on that question.

For myself, I would have preferred to omit the words "as here," since there is a doubt as to how much the healed man meant in his "worship." The question in verse 35 (with the answer in verse 38) may imply a fuller recognition of our Lord's Person, but in that verse the reading "Son of Man" is found in three of the oldest and best Greek manuscripts, and is accepted by Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort and other Editors. If that is the true reading, the answer "I believe" does not necessarily imply a higher view of our Lord's Person than that indicated in the Marginal Note, and my colleagues in editing this version who were Trinitarians, were probably influenced by this reading.

I trust this reply will satisfy your mind as to the purpose of the American Revisers, and will guard against a misuse of the marginal note.

Yours truly,

(signed) M. B. RIDDLE.

(of the American Revisers)

The following points are especially deserving of notice:

- 1) Dr. Riddle makes the editors and not the NT Company as a whole directly responsible for this comment.
- 2) He states that its insertion was largely due to a preference for the reading "Son of man" in verse 35.
- 3) He tells us that "the note was deemed a statement of fact not of opinion."
- 4) He asserts that doctrinal prejudice did not enter into the question, since the three editors were Trinitarians.
- 5) He states that it was not intended as a statement regarding the Evangelist's view of the person of Christ, and that such a use of it would be a misuse.

Taking up these points in order we observe:

1) If as Dr. Riddle implies the peculiar form of the comment at John ix. 38 is directly attributable to the editors, we must then regard it as representing the opinion of only two of the revisers, Drs. Dwight and Thayer, since Dr. Riddle expressly states in both letters that he was opposed to its insertion. Unless then it can be shown that this form of the comment was acceptable to the body of revisers as a whole—we have argued that it is impossible that this could have been the case—it must be recognized that the editors violated their own general rule which bound them to make no “new changes of moment which were not favorably passed upon by their associates at one stage or another of the original preparation of the work.” It may be of course that they did not regard this change as “of moment.” If so, we are forced to differ with them.

2) If as Dr. Riddle indicates the reading “Son of man” was largely responsible for the insertion of this comment by the editors, it is important to notice that this is the reading of the margin, not of the text. The text reads “Son of God.” This implies as has been pointed out above that at least a considerable minority of the revisers preferred the reading of the AV. It is certainly questionable, then, whether the editors were justified in inserting a comment in the margin of the ARV, when the chief argument for its insertion was a variant reading which could not command a two-thirds vote in the NT Company and consequently had itself to be placed in the margin. Certainly the comment on the word “worship” in verse 38 is all the more striking and objectionable because of the presence of the reading “Son of God” in verse 35. And Dr. Riddle himself states that but two men are responsible for the former, while the latter has the sanction of the Company as a whole.

3) It is difficult to see how in the face of the body of opinion which has been cited in favor of the view that the man who was born blind recognized Jesus’ claim to be the Son of God and worshipped him as such, two as able schol-

ars as Dr. Dwight and Dr. Thayer, could have ventured to assert that it was a matter not of *opinion* but of *fact* that this man merely intended to offer homage to a creature. Certainly if their contention were correct we might expect that the *fact* would be more generally recognized.

4) That doctrinal prejudice did not enter into the question as Dr. Riddle claims, does not follow from the fact that all three of the editors were Trinitarians. We have seen that there were several reasons which might have influenced Dr. Thayer to favor this comment. He was in a sense committed to it by the statement in the *Lexicon* which speaks of this act as "homage rendered to a superior human being." He was a great admirer of and probably to a considerable degree influenced by Dr. Abbot; and Dr. Abbot was undoubtedly opposed to the rendering "worship" on *doctrinal* grounds.

5) The fact that Dr. Riddle in stating that the comment has no reference to the Evangelist's view of the Person of Christ, was forced to add the qualification, "or was not intended to have," and also felt called upon to utter a warning against its use "as a proof-text in any discussion of that question" supports our contention that the comment does not imply what he said it was intended to imply. Dr. Riddle did not say, he could not say, that the comment could not fairly be regarded as a statement of the Evangelist's opinion, and therefore, as a true statement regarding the Person of Christ; he did not say that it would most naturally be understood as the editors intended. He did not say this because he could not. It is too obvious to every candid mind that such a claim simply cannot be maintained.

It has been a trying task which the writer has been engaged upon in the preparation of this article. To attack a version of the Bible which I have myself used more or less continuously for a decade and a half and which I have come in many ways to value highly, is not pleasant. To attack the work of a considerable body of eminent scholars after

they have all been called away by death and there is not one left to defend himself or his brethren is doubly unpleasant. Two considerations, however, have served to relieve the situation to some extent. The first is the fact that it was not until within about a year that I noticed this marginal comment. I cannot therefore be accused of waiting until all the principal witnesses in the case were gone before bringing this charge against their work. The second is the settled conviction that in attacking this pernicious note and calling for its excision, I am really representing most of the revisers. I find myself utterly unable to believe that it would have been possible to get the members of the NT Company to accept the comment as it appears at John ix. 38; and Dr. Riddle's own statement fails to claim their authority for it. That they were willing to admit the desirability of indicating in some way the ambiguity of the word προσκυνεῖν is of course clear from the fact that such a comment appears in the "Appendix" of the ERV. More than this, the fact that they locked horns with the British revisers on this point, shows that they considered it important that it should be added. This cannot be questioned. But between the comment as it appears in the "Appendix" to the ERV and the form which it assumes at John ix. 38 in the margin of the ARV there is a vast difference. And it is plainly inconceivable in view of the facts already referred to that this latter form of the comment could have been carefully considered and approved by the NT Company of the American Revisers. Consequently I feel that in attacking this note I am representing the NT Company as a whole; for I am convinced that they would have strenuously opposed the insertion in the margin of the Revision for which they were responsible of a comment which could not but be most obnoxious to them.

Before completing the preparation of this article, I decided to take up the matter personally with the publishers (Thos. Nelson & Sons, New York) with a view to ascertaining their attitude in the matter. I had a very pleasant

conversation with the president of the company, Mr. Thomson, who informed me that my complaint was not the first that they had received and showed me the letters from Dr. Riddle referred to above. He intimated that he felt himself placed in an awkward position, owing to the fact that the publishers were bound by contract with the American Revision Committee to "protect the version in its integrity," and could not be released from that contract because the Committee is no longer in existence, all its members having passed away. With this in mind, and in the hope of convincing the publishers and their advisers—both theological and legal—that this comment is contrary to the best thought and the assured conviction of the Church of every age; that it is opposed to the expressed belief of most of the revisers themselves; that its insertion by the editors was inconsistent with their definite policy "to introduce no changes of moment" and "to avoid as far as possible all pre-commitments, whether doctrinal or exegetical"; that in a volume which bears as its title, *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, there is no place for a comment which flatly denies his deity; and that its removal would do no more than justice to the deepest convictions both of the men whose work they are pledged to preserve unaltered, and of the Christian Church for whose edification they prepared it, this article has been written.

Princeton.

OSWALD T. ALLIS.

REVIEWS OF RECENT LITERATURE

GENERAL THEOLOGY

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, with the assistance of JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A., D.D., Professor of the Old Testament Language and Literature in the United Free Church College, Aberdeen, and LOUIS H. GRAY, M.A., Ph.D., Sometime Fellow in Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University, New York. Volume X, *Picts-Sacraments*. Royal 8vo, double-columns, pp. xx, 915. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1919.

About one hundred and seventy-nine writers have been occupied in preparing the matter for the tenth volume of Dr. Hastings' great religious and ethical encyclopaedia. The most of these, naturally, are British. There are among them, however, a few colonials (Canadians, Australians), about twenty-four Americans, and something like seventeen foreigners. Most of the foreigners are, as might have been expected, French-speaking—French, Belgian, Swiss; there are, however, a couple of Japanese, a Dutchman, a Russian, a Swede, a Finn, and quite unexpectedly, three Germans—Eduard König, who writes a long article on Hebrew Prophecy on the lines on which he alone knows how to write, and Richard Garbe and Julius Jolly, who contribute three short articles on Sanskrit and Hindu subjects. The work thus measurably maintains its international feature. Only a small proportion of the American writers can be classed as distinctively theologians. Among them George A. Barton contributes a long article on the folk-lore of Poles and Posts, and, in the same spirit, the section of the article on Possession which deals with Semitic and Christian ideas. Charles E. Corwin writes a descriptive article on the Reformed Church in America, and J. H. Dubbs on the Reformed Church in the United States. Henry E. Jacobs expounds the Lutheran conception of the Sacraments. Rufus M. Jones gives an account of the Ranters. James A. Kelso writes learnedly but scarcely theologically on Proverbs and Riddles. We come closer to theology in Morris Jastrow, Jr.'s, article on Purim, and in Henry P. Smith's article on the Hebrew Priests and Priesthood. Then we have Samuel McComb's article on Repentance, and E. K. Mitchell's short article on Christian Prophecy.

The volume opens with a five-page article on the Picts, in which everything that is known—or, rather, that is not known—about the Picts is summed briefly up: the author is at least sure that they were not fairies. It closes with an interestingly written but sketchy article by James Stalker on the Reformed Doctrine of Sacraments. Near

the end of this article Dr. Stalker cites a passage from Dr. Charles Hodge, in which it is argued that the validity of the Sacraments is not dependent on the official standing of the administrator. "The learned and orthodox author," Dr. Stalker declares, "conveniently forgets that this view is flatly contradictory of the Confession of Faith." In the passage cited Dr. Hodge is expressly engaged in discussing the teaching of the Protestant Confessions on the matter in question, and immediately before the passage extracted by Dr. Stalker points out that, according to them, "for anyone not thus called and ordained to undertake the exercise of either of these functions of the ministry, in a settled state of the Church, is wrong: it is a violation of a divinely constituted order in Christ's Church." Dr. Hodge has thus not "forgotten," whether conveniently or inconveniently, the Confession of Faith. He is expressly dealing with it and recognizes that it requires as a matter of order an ordained minister for the administration of the Sacraments; but, distinguishing between good order in the Church and the validity of the Sacraments, he declares further that the latter is not dependent on the former and is therefore not touched by the Confessional requirement. Dr. Stalker may not care to make this distinction, and he may not think that the distinction is applicable to the interpretation of the passage of the Confession of Faith which is in question. But he ought not to overlook the fact that Dr. Hodge does make this distinction and does use it as an instrument for determining the bearing of the Confessional declaration; and therefore does not do what Dr. Stalker, in language scarcely polite, says that he does. He certainly owes an apology to Dr. Hodge's memory. Two other articles are contributed to the volume by Dr. Stalker, both written in the same interesting but sketchy manner. One of them is a comprehensive article of five pages on Christian Preaching. Naturally such a subject could be treated no otherwise than sketchily in the space at disposal. It is much that it is interesting and not misleading. The other article is on Revivals of Religion. It is a subject on which Dr. Stalker, by temperament and experience, is peculiarly adapted to write with authority, and of course he writes here instructively. We are afraid, however, that we must speak of its standpoint as insular. Perhaps enough has been said to suggest the nature of its deficiencies when it is said that C. G. Finney's name does not occur in the article (it does occur, however, in the "Literature," and is mentioned in the article on Preaching), and nothing is said of the part that the revival which he inaugurated played in a world-wide movement. Catherine C. Cleaveland's *The Great Revival in the West, 1795-1805* (1916) should be added to the "Literature."

The important topics, "Reformation" and "Protestantism," have been assigned to the very competent hand of the late H. M. Gwatkin. Professor Gwatkin did not rise to his opportunity, however, in his article on Protestantism. He has made it merely an account of the word "Protestant," tracing out the interesting history of its various applica-

tions. He tells us nothing of the thing. Perhaps he thought he had said enough of the thing in the article on "Reformation," which runs to fourteen vividly written pages. The general view of the origin and significance of the Reformation which he gives in it, however, is tolerable only if we look upon it as an attempt to depict in the large the temper of mind and general characteristics of the whole body of mankind more or less affected by the movement—"the surging masses"—rather than the particular nature of the central motive-force at work. Even if we look at it so, however, it requires some straining to discover the principle of the Reformation in just "individualism." To do any justice to the facts at all we must add the limitation "individualism in religion." Having the courage of his opinion, Gwatkin is prepared, nevertheless, to assert sharply (p. 609): "Least of all was it a purely religious movement." Unless the qualification "purely" is given a very exclusive force, we have sufficient courage of our own opinion, on the other hand, to assert that precisely what it was was a purely religious movement. And, indeed, Gwatkin, at the end of his long article, tardily concedes so much, by summing up in the form that in the Reformation the individual "gained first religious and then civil liberty"—although he repeats at the same time his fundamental dictum that what the Reformation means and has wrought is just freedom, taking the term in its most undifferentiated sense. Of course the Reformation has powerfully affected every department of life; and as it has gathered up into itself every impulse to reformation which was actually operative in every sphere of life, so it has brought its emancipation of the human spirit to bear upon every mode of vital functioning. But at heart, as cannot be too strongly emphasized, it was precisely a religious movement, a revolt of that religious individualism which Augustine had given afresh to the world, and which we have learned to call—it was the Reformation's own name for it—"evangelicalism" (we do not know what diluted sense Gwatkin attaches to the word on p. 618: "In Sweden, the Augsburg Confession was not formally adopted till 1583; and even now the Church is 'Evangelical' "). Not perceiving this with the requisite clearness, Gwatkin tends to find the hinge of the Reformation in its demand for freedom of private judgment instead of in the rediscovery of the freedom of grace. In general, in his eloquent descriptions of the trees, he fairly loses sight of the wood. This is not least apparent when the doctrinal teaching of the Reformed Churches comes to be spoken of. One receives the impression that Gwatkin is least interested in and is least competent to expound the doctrinal side of the Reformation. The remarks on Luther's own doctrinal attitude (p. 619a) raise question in the mind of the reader whether the details of Luther's discussion in the *De Servo Arbitrio* (which he very justly himself esteemed his most important book) were as vividly in mind as they should have been. With true insular self-consciousness the English Church is separated from the Reformed and given a place alongside of it and the Lutheran as a third co-ordinate variety

of Protestantism. It is fully allowed, however, that its doctrine is "entirely that of the Reformed Churches" (doctrine, it will be remembered, does not loom largely in Gwatkin's mind). It is added, however, that Predestination "is taught in such general terms" in its Articles as "not to exclude Arminianism"—which is as much as to say, as to embrace its contradictory. This seems to us a most incompetent judgment. The account of the English Church on the ecclesiastical side and on the side of its forms of worship is much more firmly drawn. Gwatkin is at his best in his crisp narrative of the gradual Protestantization of the Service Book up to the completion of the process. But the account of the order and discipline of the Reformed Churches as a whole is marked rather by generous sympathy than by complete understanding. An incapacity is manifested to conceive of a completely free church in a completely free state. The difficulty arising from the conflict of jurisdictions in cases where civil rights are involved is rightly pointed to: "The State cannot refuse to decide questions of Church property for any sect which is tolerated, and cannot decide them without judicial interpretations of its confessions and deeds of settlement" (p. 620). There is no hint of knowledge that the American courts have found a solution of the difficulty too.

The article on Presbyterianism by John Dall, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Queen's College, Kingston, Canada (25 pages), is longer than that on the Reformation—assuredly a fault in proportion. Its superior length is, unfortunately, due largely to its diffuseness, if we should not even say its repetitiousness. It gives a very fair account of Presbyterianism from the lowered standpoint which renounces all *jure divino* claims, except perhaps for fundamental general principles, and appeals for defence of the system only to experienced utility. "So far, then, as the advocate of Presbyterianism makes use of the New Testament to-day, he must claim to reproduce the spirit and intention of the Primitive Church and not its mechanism; he will draw his main arguments rather from considerations of expediency." (p. 245a.) "In so far as they attempted or claimed to effect an exact or mechanical reproduction of the New Testament Church, they were mistaken, but they may at least claim to have worked out a system as nearly like it as anything that can hope to adapt itself to modern times" (p. 265a). In the interests of a theory of continuity of historical development the origins of Presbyterianism are carried back into the Mediaeval Church, with great stress laid on Monasticism, after a fashion which closely parallels Gwatkin's account of the remoter sources of the Reformation movement. Although much insisted upon, this whole discussion is beside the mark. The detailed description of Presbyterian usage is valid only for the Scotch Church; and indeed the brief account of the American Church does not lack, whether in its descriptive or in its historical part, positive inexactnesses of statement. Take this sentence, for example (p. 262a): "A test case came at length in 1830, when Albert Barnes, a Congregational minister called to a Presbyterian charge in Philadelphia, was

vetoed by the Presbytery on account of his known laxity of doctrine." The strong aristocratic element in the Presbyterian organization is obscured; there is no denying that "the ministry" is treated in this system as a privileged class. We feel impelled to thank Professor Dall for the at once measured and high encomium which he pronounces on the Westminster formularies (p. 252-3), and for a fine expression, which meets us occasionally, of an important fact to which it would be well to give earnest heed in these days of agitation for undoing the work of the Reformation in the interests of thoughtless "Union": "The Reformation is the substitution of spiritual unity under the headship of Christ for external, mechanical unity under the papal monarchy"; "substitute Christ for the Pope as the Head of the Church, and spiritual for corporeal unity, and you have at once the explanation of our Protestant divisions, and the antidote to much of the alarm which they cause in unreflecting minds" (p. 246-247). The "Literature" appended to this article has been prepared by Professor John Herkless. It is not a good piece of work.

One of the inequalities in the distribution of emphasis and space in the make-up of this Encyclopaedia comes to observation in the consecration of separate articles to the Reformed Churches in America and in the United States and even (along with the Free Church of England) to the Reformed Episcopal Church in the United Kingdom. Both of the former churches had received their proportionate treatment, along with the other Presbyterian churches, in the general article on Presbyterianism. Why they should be singled out for separate treatments also, while larger and more important bodies have been denied this advantage, we cannot conjecture. We are not objecting to the full treatment given them: we are glad they have received it. We are expressing surprise that correspondingly full treatment has not been given to the great churches to which it has not been accorded. The prominence given to the Reformed Episcopal Church in the United Kingdom is particularly odd, because its mother church, the Reformed Episcopal Church in the United States, is passed by in silence—or, rather, is spoken of only in the article on the daughter church, and only in order to explain its origin. An effect of this is that it is not only unduly subordinated to its own offspring, but is very inadequately and even incompetently described. We are told, for instance, that Bishops Cheney and Nicholson were consecrated "at Kentucky" (p. 631). We wonder what kind of a *Dörfchen* the man thinks Kentucky is? Or whether he would justify us if we should remark that his article was evidently written "at England"? No doubt, to the uninformed, it is puzzling that most of the dioceses of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America are named from the regions which they cover instead of from the towns where their "chairs" are erected. The reason for this may or may not be obscure, but it would not be bad for the historian to know the fact.

Herbert G. Wood, a Cambridge man, writes a temperate article on Puritanism, so defining the term as to confine it to the reforming

party—from Thomas Cartwright to Richard Baxter—within the Church of England. He has, however, a closing section on “the influence of Puritanism as a tendency in religious and social life,” in which he takes a wider range. He has no inclination to deny the virtues, the achievements, or the permanent influence of Puritanism, and he always speaks with moderation. But he speaks also of its shortcomings and his sympathy with its main contentions is incomplete. At the centre of its contentions he places its insistence on an ecclesiastical ideal, and he is not in sympathy with its attempt to base this ideal on Scripture (p. 511), although he is compelled to allow that in one way or another it is the platform which is found in Scripture. He can only contend that it is not really *prescribed* by Scripture—a contention which neither Richard Hooker in his time nor Mr. Wood now has been able to make good. Mr. Wood is willing to allow that there is something wholesome in the Calvinistic theology of the Puritans; but he seems to recoil somewhat from the full conception of original sin (p. 513), although he allows that a belief in it may be useful. And though he seems dreadfully afraid of a “depreciation of childhood,” he appears to admit that there may be a “relative justification” for distrust in child nature which is not always allowed for by critics of Puritanism. We remember that when Albrecht Ritschl taught that children come into the world positively good, it was so little a Puritan as Otto Pfleiderer who called him back to the observation of reality. Just look at the children, he said; unless we are blind parents indeed “we shall discover in them from their earliest years that *Eigensinn* which is the veritable root and kernel of all evil.”

There is an odd article on Rationalism by Helen Wodehouse; odd because it has nothing to do with Rationalism in the historical sense of that term, the “Rationalismus vulgaris,” and indeed betrays no knowledge of such a movement, if we should not rather say betrays ignorance of it. When speaking of Strauss’ enumeration of explanations of the accounts of Jesus’ resurrection which had been propounded before his own, Miss Wodehouse says, in a parenthesis, of one of them: “which Strauss calls specially ‘rationalist.’” She obviously has not the faintest idea of the particular reason why he does so, and supposes that he means to characterize this theory as “rationalistic” in her own loose sense. Her own use of the word is a purely negative one. She writes: “Rationalism, says A. W. Benn, means the hostile criticism of theological dogmas, ‘the mental habit of using reason for the destruction of religious belief.’” This indefinite use of the term, she rightly remarks, “involves us in obvious difficulties.” Operating with it, she employs Rationalism as merely a broad term to designate all anti-religious criticism, and her article is a desultory and flimsy account of some nineteenth century writers, selected on no obvious principle, who have written in a way which on one ground or another may be called irreligious. Renan and Strauss, Feuerbach and Büchner, Leslie Stephen and Ellis McTaggart, Emile Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl, and F. M. Conford and Jane E. Harrison—that is

the list of authors on whom she lightly touches as she flits by them. It is positively cruel, defining Rationalism as she does, that she does not mention John M. Robertson and his friends of the Rationalistic Press. It is really they who have provided her with her conception of her subject.

The important article on Predestination (ten pages) has been intrusted to A. S. Martin, with whose name readers of Dr. Hastings' dictionaries have become very familiar. He has given us a stimulating article, running in the main on right lines, but far from clear. The opening paragraphs in which the idea is developed swarm with parallogisms. Mr. Martin is rightly set upon retaining side by side the two conceptions of the predestination of God and the freedom of the rational creature; but his success in showing how they co-exist is not striking, and what suffers in the adjustment is the divine predestination. In his history of the doctrine he is not always exact. He slips, indeed, even in minor facts,—as, for example, when he declares the Westminster formularies *infralapsarian*, and confronts Jonathan Edwards with "New England Unitarianism" as his chief opponent. The article on Providence, which is about half the length of that on Predestination, is written by W. T. Davison. We are puzzled by what seem hints in this article that Dr. Davison thinks that Predestination and Providence are in some way inconsistent with one another. "The teaching of predestination in the West," we read (p. 417), "was in practice held side by side with a belief in Providence." Again (p. 417): "The divine fore-ordination which Aquinas teaches leaves room—at the expense of some inconsistency— . . . for a doctrine of Providence." Yet he can almost immediately add: "Luther, Calvin and Zwingli alike understood by Providence a divine fore-ordination." What is Providence, in point of fact, but the execution of the divine purpose? Dr. Davison, although arguing for a general Providence and in some sense—a not very clear sense—for a special providence, wishes so to interpret providence as to allow for opposing wills which may, temporarily at least, thwart it: "man has a measure of power to delay, or mar, a Divine work which he cannot ultimately prevent" (p. 428). We ourselves prefer the sentiment quoted from Herbert: "All things have their will, yet none but Thine." One reason why we prefer it is that it is the sentiment of Scripture, as Dr. Davison does not deny, quoting Prov. xvi, 9: "A man's heart deviseth his way, but Jahweh directeth his steps," and remarking on it that it "sums up the moral" of "nearly all Old Testament stories." Dr. Davison, however, does not feel bound by Scripture. We add, therefore, that another reason why we prefer this sentiment is that it is demanded by a pure theism. A god who has to win His way against His creatures only "ultimately," and at the price of having the work "marred," is not the God of the theist.

J. T. Marshall, a Baptist, writes the interesting and instructive article on Regeneration. There is some little vagueness in determining the exact concept, and there is a certain vacillation in the course

of the discussion between the notions of co-efficients, antecedents, and causes which leaves the reader in some doubt as to what he is being taught. Perhaps, also, although the idea of baptismal regeneration is rejected, the effects of baptism are a little exaggerated. A wide and varied reading is shown, and opportunity is taken to tell of the Mystery Religions and the studies of Reitzenstein. The general drift of the article, at least, is on right lines. The "Princeton divine" quoted on p. 641 is Charles Hodge.

We have, of course, touched but the fringe of this large and closely packed volume. Out of the immense number of articles before us we have purposely chosen for mention a series closely related to one another. The reader will understand that a score of similar series of articles of wholly different character could have been equally easily chosen from the varied contents of the volume. We can only review it by sample. We suppose the sample we have chosen to be a fair one. It will at least give some notion of the nature of the contents of the volume and of the method of the treatment which it uses,—and at the same time of its interest to the student of religious movements and ideas.

Princeton.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

APOLOGETICAL THEOLOGY

The Conscience and Concessions: How may the Individual become related to the Many? By ALFRED WILLIAMS ANTHONY, D.D., LL.D., Executive Secretary of the Home Mission Council. 8vo, pp. 270. New York, Chicago, London and Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1918.

This is "a discussion of the principles of federation and co-operation in their social, religious, and political aspects. Dr. Anthony also reviews the place and province of conscience, and the guiding principles of legitimate compromise. Some of the chapters are written in view of present world conditions, while others have to do with fundamentals of human experience, which antedate and will outlast the unsettled situation in which mankind finds itself in these crucial days."

As "a discussion of the principles of federation and co-operation in their social, religious, and political aspects," this is an informing, a just, and a timely book. Unlike many of the writers on these and kindred topics, our author contends vigorously for the rights and the importance of the individual. Indeed, the conservation and the development of the individual are, in his judgment, the indispensable conditions of all real progress in church or state or society. Again, and in this, too, differing from many of our most popular writers on social science, Dr. Anthony aims to hold, and succeeds in holding, true the balance between the claims of Capital and those of Labor. Specially valuable also are his history of the various movements toward co-operation and federation, and his criticism of the

mistakes and of the worthy achievements of these. In view of this, Chap. IX, that on "Protestant Excursions in Christian Solidarity," may, perhaps, be singled out as peculiarly discerning and enlightening; and in this chapter the detection and exposure of the weakness of the union as compared with the denominational church, and of the federated church also unless it "tends to move toward a denominational centre."

It is when our author reviews the place and province of conscience, and the guiding principles of legitimate compromise, that we find ourselves unable to follow him. His conclusions along this line, in so far as he may be said to have reached any, seem to us to be both false and dangerous in the following respects:

1. They deny, at least by implication, the primacy and sovereignty of truth. Theology must give way to religion; logic, to inclination; righteousness, to honesty of purpose; a conscience true to the immutable law of God, to mere conscientiousness. But how can religion be tested otherwise than by theology? How can inclination be vindicated, if not by logic? What is the worth of honesty of purpose, unless it be righteous? Of what value is conscientiousness, if it be not in accordance with law. "Paul verily thought with himself that he *ought* to do the many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth"; and because he did do this he called himself "the chief of sinners." In a word, our author ignores the material principle of morals; and without the material principle, the formal principle may be most misleading. In the sphere of concession, as elsewhere, it is not enough to mean to do right: what we mean to do must really be right. Thus truth is fundamental.

2. As might be expected, Dr. Anthony's view of sin is as low as his conception of truth. He would seem to regard it as consisting simply in conscious transgression. Because no man commits crime constantly he would consider all men as pretty good fellows. He would appear to have no idea that a disposition capable of crime is sinful whether crime be committed or not. Our Saviour teaches that malice is murder though no one be killed. Paul wrote that we are all by nature "children of wrath" and, consequently, "dead through trespass and sins." Dr. Anthony writes that "everyone is more than fifty-one per cent good, however bad he may be" (p. 158). We will not try to decide between these authorities; we simply remark that the discussion must bear on the question as to conscience and concessions. A low view of sin fits in well with a low view of conscience.

3. Our author would seem to overlook altogether the uniqueness of the Christian revelation. If it were the result of the evolution of man's religious nature, there might be ground for concession on matters of religious belief, for it would be only human, and it is "human to err." If, however, the Gospel be a message infallibly communicated by God Himself from heaven, and if the substance of that message be the eternally lost condition by nature of all men

and the freeness, sufficiency, and glory of the great salvation which is in Christ, then concession to the many who deny the former and minimize the latter becomes both intolerable and impossible. To appreciate that one has been put in trust by God with such a message, and then proceed to tamper with it, to abate it, to emasculate it—this would be to exhibit a dullness of head and a hardness of heart which should disqualify one even for concession. In a word, the Gospel of Redemption is in a class by itself. No one can grasp the whole of it or all of any of it. But neither may anyone yield what he believes himself to have grasped of it. It is beyond the sphere of compromise. Hence, there can be no living union or federation of churches which is based on concession. Everyone must follow conscience, and no one can conscientiously yield what he knows that God Himself has revealed.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

The Tragedy of Labor. A Monograph in Folk Philosophy. By WILLIAM RILEY HALSTEAD. 12mo, pp. 107. The Abingdon Press: New York; Cincinnati. 1919.

This is a series of short essays on questions of special interest to-day and of great importance at all times. The subjects of these papers are "Appropriation," "Private Property and the Wage," "The Opportunity to Make a Living," "The Community and the Classes," "The Economic Side of Socialism," "The Soil." The discussion of these topics is fresh and vigorous, usually fair, and on the whole sound. The writer is certainly to be commended, not only for his incisive style, but, most of all, because, unlike many students of sociology to-day, he has not forgotten either that every economic problem is at bottom ethical or that most ethical problems can be understood only in the light of economic relations. We could wish that our author had also remembered that "the silver and the gold are God's and the cattle upon a thousand hills," and that he "distributeth to every one severally as he wills." No ethical or economic problem even can be *solved* apart from religion.

Series XXXVII, No. 1 Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Under the direction of the Departments of History, Political Economy, and Political Science. *Unemployment and American Trade Unions.* By D. P. SMELZER, Ph.D. Captain, Quartermaster Corps, A. E. F. 8vo, pamph., pp. 7, 147. Baltimore: the Johns Hopkins Press. 1919.

An exhaustive, careful, timely, and in many ways very valuable study. Without bias, without comment, the efforts of the trade unions in restraint of trade are exhibited with illuminating clearness and with impressive restraint. For example, as a required means for lessening unemployment, we are simply told of the regulation of the plumbers prohibiting the use of the bicycle and the motor-cycle during working hours, and also forbidding their members from telephoning to the employer when they are out jobbing to know if there

are any more jobs in the neighborhood. Yet, if there is anything more shameful than this in the management of the trusts we should like to know of it.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

SYSTEMATICAL THEOLOGY

He That Is Spiritual. By LEWIS SPERRY CHAFER. [New York: "Our Hope" Press, 1918], 12 mo., pp. x-151. Price, 75 cents.

Mr. Chafer is in the unfortunate and, one would think, very uncomfortable, condition of having two inconsistent systems of religion struggling together in his mind. He was bred an Evangelical, and, as a minister of the Presbyterian Church, South, stands committed to Evangelicism of the purest water. But he has been long associated in his work with a coterie of "Evangelists" and "Bible Teachers," among whom there flourishes that curious religious system (at once curiously pretentious and curiously shallow) which the Higher Life leaders of the middle of the last century brought into vogue; and he has not been immune to its infection. These two religious systems are quite incompatible. The one is the product of the Protestant Reformation and knows no determining power in the religious life but the grace of God; the other comes straight from the laboratory of John Wesley, and in all its forms—modifications and mitigations alike—remains incurably Arminian, subjecting all gracious workings of God to human determining. The two can unite as little as fire and water.

Mr. Chafer makes use of all the jargon of the Higher Life teachers. In him, too, we hear of two kinds of Christians, whom he designates respectively "carnal men" and "spiritual men," on the basis of a misreading of 1 Cor. ii. 9 ff (pp. 8, 109, 146); and we are told that the passage from the one to the other is at our option, whenever we care to "claim" the higher degree "by faith" (p. 146). With him, too, thus, the enjoyment of every blessing is suspended on our "claiming it" (p. 129). We hear here, too, of "letting" God (p. 84), and, indeed, we almost hear of "engaging" the Spirit (as we engage, say, a carpenter) to do work for us (p. 94); and we do explicitly hear of "making it possible for God" to do things (p. 148),—a quite terrible expression. Of course, we hear repeatedly of the duty and efficacy of "yielding"—and the act of "yielding ourselves" is quite in the customary manner discriminated from "consecrating" ourselves (p. 84), and we are told, as usual, that by it the gate is opened into the divinely appointed path (pp. 91, 49). The quietistic phrase, "not by trying but by a right adjustment," meets us (p. 39), and naturally such current terms as "known sin" (p. 62), "moment by moment triumph" (pp. 34, 60), "the life that is Christ" (p. 31), "unbroken walk in the Spirit" (pp. 53, 113), "unbroken victory" (p. 96), even Pearsall Smith's famous "at once": "the Christian may realize *at once* the heavenly virtues of Christ" (p. 39, the italics his). It is a matter

of course after this that we are told that it is not *necessary* for Christians to sin (p. 125)—the emphasis repeatedly thrown on the word “necessary” leading us to wonder whether Mr. Chafer remembers that, according to the Confession of Faith to which, as a Presbyterian minister, he gives his adhesion, it is in the strictest sense of the term *not necessary* for anybody to sin, even for the “natural man” (ix, 1).

Although he thus serves himself with their vocabulary, and therefore of course repeats the main substance of their teaching, there are lengths, nevertheless, to which Mr. Chafer will not go with his Higher Life friends. He quite decidedly repels, for example, the expectation of repetitions of the “Pentecostal manifestations” (p. 47), and this is the more notable because in his expositions of certain passages in which the charismatic Spirit is spoken of he has missed that fact, to the confusion of his doctrine of the Spirit’s modes of action. With equal decisiveness he repels “such man-made, unbiblical terms as ‘second blessing,’ ‘a second work of grace,’ ‘the higher life,’ and various phrases used in the perverted statements of the doctrines of sanctification and perfection” (pp. 31, 33), including such phrases as “entire sanctification” and “sinless perfection” (pp. 107, 139). He is hewing here, however, to a rather narrow line, for he does teach that there are two kinds of Christian, the “carnal” and the “spiritual”; and he does teach that it is quite unnecessary for spiritual men to sin and that the way is fully open to them to live a life of unbroken victory if they choose to do so.

Mr. Chafer opens his book with an exposition of the closing verses of the second and the opening verses of the third chapters of 1 Corinthians. Here he finds three classes of men contrasted, the “natural” or unregenerated man, and the “carnal” and “spiritual” men, both of whom are regenerated, but the latter of whom lives on a higher plane. “There are two great spiritual changes which are possible to human experience,” he writes (p. 8),—“the change from the ‘natural’ man to the saved man, and the change from the ‘carnal’ man to the ‘spiritual’ man. The former is divinely accomplished when there is a real faith in Christ; the latter is accomplished when there is a real adjustment to the Spirit. The ‘spiritual’ man is the divine ideal in life and ministry, in power with God and man, in unbroken fellowship and blessing.” This teaching is indistinguishable from what is ordinarily understood by the doctrine of a “second blessing,” “a second work of grace,” “the higher life.” The subsequent expositions only make the matter clearer. In them the changes are rung on the double salvation, on the one hand from the *penalty* of sin, on the other from the *power* of sin—“salvation into safety” and “salvation into sanctity” (p. 109). And the book closes with a long-drawn-out “analogy” between these two salvations. This “analogy” is announced with this statement: “The Bible treats our deliverance from the bond-servitude to sin as a distinct form of salvation and there is an analogy between this and the more familiar aspect of salvation which is from the guilt and penalty of sin” (p.

141). It ends with this fuller summary: "There are a multitude of sinners for whom Christ has died who are not now saved. On the divine side, everything has been provided, and they have only to enter by faith into His saving grace as it is for them in Christ Jesus. Just so, there are a multitude of saints whose sin-nature has been perfectly judged and every provision made on the divine side for a life of victory and glory to God who are not now realizing a life of victory. They have only to enter by faith into the saving grace from the power and dominion of sin. . . . Sinners are not saved until they trust the Saviour, and saints are not victorious until they trust the Deliverer. God has made this *possible* through the cross of His Son. Salvation from the power of sin must be claimed by faith" (p. 146). No doubt what we are first led to say of this is that here is the quintessence of Arminianism. God saves no one—He only makes salvation *possible* for men. Whether it becomes *actual* or not depends absolutely on their own act. It is only by their act that it is made *possible* for God to save them. But it is equally true that here is the quintessence of the Higher Life teaching, which merely emphasizes that part of this Arminian scheme which refers to the specific matter of sanctification. "What He provides and bestows is in the fullest divine perfection; but our adjustment is human and therefore subject to constant improvement. The *fact* of our possible deliverance, which depends on Him alone, does not change. We will have as much at any time as we make it possible for Him to bestow" (p. 148).

When Mr. Chafer repels the doctrine of "sinless perfection" he means, first of all, that our sinful natures are not eradicated. Entering the old controversy waged among perfectionists between the "Eradicationists" and "Suppressionists," he ranges himself with the latter,—only preferring to use the word "control." "The divine method of dealing with the sin-nature in the believer is by direct and unceasing *control* over that nature by the indwelling Spirit." (p. 134.) One would think that this would yield at least a sinlessness of conduct; but that is to forget that, after all, in this scheme the divine action waits on man's. "The Bible teaches that, while the divine provision is one of *perfection* of life, the human appropriation is always *faulty* and therefore the results are *imperfect* at best" (p. 157). God's provisions only make it *possible* for us to live without sinning. The result is therefore only that we are under no *necessity* of sinning. But whether we shall actually sin or not is our own affair. "His provisions are always *perfect*, but our appropriation is always *imperfect*." "What he provides and bestows is in the fullest divine perfection, but our adjustment is human. . . . The *fact* of our possible deliverance, which depends on Him alone, does not change. We will have as much at any time as we make it possible for Him to *bestow*." (pp. 148, 149.) Thus it comes about that we can be told both that "the child of God and citizen of heaven may live a superhuman life, in harmony with his heavenly calling

by an unbroken walk in the Spirit,"—that "the Christian may realize *at once* the heavenly virtues of Christ" (p. 39); and that, in point of fact, he does nothing of the kind, that "all Christians *do* sin." (p. 111). A possibility of not sinning which is unillustrated by a single example and will never be illustrated by a single example is, of course, a mere postulate extorted by a theory. It is without practical significance. A universal effect is not accounted for by its possibility.

Mr. Chafer conducts his discussion of these "two general theories as to the divine method of dealing with the sin-nature in believers" on the presumption that "both theories cannot be true, for they are contradictory" (p. 135). "The two theories are irreconcilable," he says. (p. 139.) "We are either to be delivered by the abrupt removal of all tendency to sin, and so no longer need the enabling power of God to combat the power of sin, or we are to be delivered by the immediate and constant power of the indwelling Spirit." This irreducible "either—or" is unjustified. In point of fact, both "eradication" and "control" are true. God delivers us from our sinful nature, not indeed by "abruptly" but by progressively eradicating it, and meanwhile controlling it. For the new nature which God gives us is not an absolutely new somewhat, alien to our personality, inserted into us, but our old nature itself remade—a veritable recreation, or making of all things new. Mr. Chafer is quite wrong when he says: "Salvation is not a so-called 'change of heart.' It is not a transformation of the old; it is a regeneration, or creation, of something wholly new, which is possessed in conjunction with the old so long as we are in the body." (p. 113). That this furnishes out each Christian with two conflicting natures does not appal him. He says, quite calmly? "The unregenerate have but one nature, while the regenerate have two." (p. 116.) He does not seem to see that thus the man is not saved at all: a different, newly created, man is substituted for him. When the old man is got rid of—and that the old man has to be ultimately got rid of he does not doubt—the saved man that is left is not at all the old man that was to be saved, but a new man that has never needed any saving.

It is a temptation to a *virtuoso* in the interpretation of Scripture to show his mettle on hard places and in startling results. Mr. Chafer has not been superior to this temptation. Take but one example. "All Christian love," he tells us (p. 40) "according to the Scriptures, is distinctly a manifestation of divine love *through* the human heart"—a quite unjustified assertion. But Mr. Chafer is ready with an illustration. "A statement of this is found," he declares, "at Rom. v, 5, 'because the love of God is shed abroad (lit., gushes forth) in our hearts by (produced, or caused by) the Holy Spirit, which is given unto us.'" Then he comments as follows: "This is not the working of the human affection; it is rather the direct manifestaton of the 'love of God' passing *through* the heart of the believer *out from* the indwelling Spirit. It is the realization

of the last petition of the High Priestly prayer of our Lord: 'That the love wherewith thou hast loved me may be in them' (John xvii, 26). It is simply God's love working *in* and *through* the believer. It could not be humanly produced, or even imitated, and it of necessity goes out to the objects of divine affection and grace, rather than to the objects of human desire. A human heart cannot *produce* divine love, but it can *experience* it. To have a heart that feels the compassion of God is to drink of the wine of heaven." All this *bizarre* doctrine of the transference of God's love, in the sense of His active power of loving, to us, so that it works out from us again as new centres, is extracted from Paul's simple statement that by the Holy Spirit which God has given us His love to us is made richly real to our apprehension! Among the parenthetical philological comments which Mr. Chafer has inserted into his quotation of the text, it is a pity that he did not include one noting that ἐκκέω is not εἰσρέω, and that Paul would no doubt have used εἰσρέω had he meant to convey that idea.

A haunting ambiguity is thrust upon Mr. Chafer's whole teaching by his hospitable entertainment of contradictory systems of thought. There is a passage near the beginning of his book, not well expressed it is true, but thoroughly sound in its fundamental conception, in which expression is given to a primary principle of the Evangelical system, which, had validity been given to it, would have preserved Mr. Chafer from his regrettable dalliance with the Higher Life formulas. "In the Bible," he writes, "the divine offer and condition for the cure of sin in an unsaved person is crystallized into the one word, 'believe'; for the forgiveness of sin with the unsaved is only offered as an indivisible part of the whole divine work of salvation. The saving work of God includes many mighty undertakings other than the forgiveness of sin, and salvation depends only upon *believing*. It is not possible to separate some one issue from the whole work of His saving grace, such as forgiveness, and claim this apart from the indivisible whole. It is, therefore, a grievous error to direct an unsaved person to seek forgiveness of his sins as a separate issue. A sinner minus his sins would not be a Christian; for salvation is more than subtraction, it is addition. 'I give unto them eternal life.' Thus the sin question with the unsaved will be cured as a part of, but never separate from, the whole divine work of salvation, and this salvation depends upon *believing*" (p. 62). If this passage means anything, it means that salvation is a unit, and that he who is united to Jesus Christ by faith receives in Him not only justification—salvation from the *penalty* of sin—but also sanctification—salvation from the *power* of sin—both "safety" and "sanctity." These things cannot be separated, and it is a grievous error to teach that a true believer in Christ can stop short in "carnality," and, though having the Spirit *with* him and *in* him, not have Him *upon* him—to use a not very lucid play upon prepositions in which Mr. Chafer indulges. In his attempt to teach this, Mr.

Chafer is betrayed (p. 29) into drawing out a long list of characteristics of the two classes of Christians, in which he assigns to the lower class practically all the marks of the unregenerate man. Salvation is a process; as Mr. Chafer loyally teaches, the flesh continues in the regenerate man and strives against the Spirit—he is to be commended for preserving even to the Seventh Chapter of Romans its true reference—but the remainders of the flesh in the Christian do not constitute his characteristic. He is in the Spirit and is walking, with however halting steps, by the Spirit; and it is to all Christians, not to some, that the great promise is given, “Sin shall not have dominion over you,” and the great assurance is added, “Because ye are not under the law but under grace.” He who believes in Jesus Christ is under grace, and his whole course, in its process and in its issue alike, is determined by grace, and therefore, having been predestined to be conformed to the image of God’s Son, he is surely being conformed to that image, God Himself seeing to it that he is not only called and justified but also glorified. You may find Christians at every stage of this process, for it is a process through which all must pass; but you will find none who will not in God’s own good time and way pass through every stage of it. There are not two kinds of Christians, although there are Christians at every conceivable stage of advancement towards the one goal to which all are bound and at which all shall arrive.

Princeton.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

The Atonement in the Light of History and the Modern Spirit. By the Rev. DAVID SMITH, D.D., Professor of Theology in the M’Crae College, Londonderry. Hodder and Stoughton: London, New York, Toronto. pp. 226.

This little volume adds another to the many which have been written to construct a modern doctrine of the Atonement, and to prove that Christ did not bear the guilt and punishment of our sin, and that His atoning work was not a satisfaction of the Divine Justice.

Dr. Smith’s thesis, put briefly, is that every age has its own doctrinal interpretation of Christianity, which interpretation is determined by the prevailing ideas of the age in question and is therefore only of passing value, and valid only for the age in which it arises.

In the Apostolic age, he thinks, we have no interpretation of the work of Christ, and no doctrine of the Atonement, but only glimpses of truth limited by the experience and intellectual environment of each Apostle. In the Patristic age the misery caused by conquest and the taking of captives led to the interpretation of the Atonement as a liberation of men from the bondage of Satan. In the Mediaeval period the dominating ideas were those of chivalry, and hence the Atonement was interpreted as a satisfaction of God’s offended honour. In the age of the Reformation the idea of law led to the “forensic” doctrine of the Atonement. The modern age is the age of science and historical investigation. It has taught us, thinks Dr. Smith, by

the processes of historical criticism, a new way of interpreting Scripture. We have now learned that the fundamental ideas of Christianity are the love and universal Fatherhood of God, and, consequently, that no Atonement in the old sense is necessary. Christ teaches us the love and Fatherhood of God, and thus reconciles sinners to God.

But what, then, of the sufferings and death of Christ? Dr. Smith is ready with a curiously illogical answer to this question. He says that the new conception of God which Christ gives us is not enough to give the guilty conscience peace. Although God is love, and though Divine Justice requires no satisfaction, *i.e.*, although apparently there is no objective validity in the sinner's consciousness of guilt, nevertheless the only way of attaining peace "without reparation" is through the discovery by the sinner that "the wrong was done to one who loves him and who, instead of resenting the personal damage, has sorrowed for him that he should have been capable of it, etc." But Dr. Smith fails to point out how Christ's death makes us realize this, nor does he seem to realize that a few pages before the one from which the above quotation is taken he asserted roundly that some reparation and expiation was really necessary if the sinner is to find peace.

But passing by the antimony between the awakened sinner's sense of guilt and the so-called modern conception of God, which seems to be the cause of much confusion in Dr. Smith's thought on this subject, there are two further matters in his book which are difficult to understand.

One is why Dr. Smith is at such pains to reconcile the Apostles' idea of the Atonement with his own. We were told by him at the outset that the Apostles had no fully rounded doctrine of the Atonement; that their conceptions are limited by the age in which they lived—in fact, that all doctrinal interpretation of Christianity is of only passing moment. If all this is true, why try so hard to show that his own view coincides with that of the Apostles? If Dr. Smith's presuppositions are true, it might be hoped and expected that the theologian of the twentieth century could improve on the Apostles in his conception of the saving work of Christ.

Another point which is not made clear by our author is how it is that modern scientific study of the Bible yields some purely moral influence theory of the Atonement. If we had been told that certain sayings of Jesus which conflict with Dr. Smith's view were unhistorical and never uttered by our Lord, and that Paul had corrupted the simple Gospel of Jesus, or that the corrupting process was even traceable to Jesus Himself and that His ideas were limited by the conditions of the age in which He lived; if, we repeat, we had read something of this sort we would have felt that we were listening to a modern prophet; but to see the teaching of Paul and Peter and John bent and twisted to yield Dr. Smith's view of the Atonement reminds us rather of the days and methods of Socinus.

Princeton.

C. W. HODGE.

The Fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Faith. By R. A. TORREY.
New York, George H. Doran Co. 1916. Pp. 328.

This volume contains a series of sermons on the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, which were preached by Dr. Torrey in his own Church. He says in the Preface that he has had the feeling for some time that the great need in our churches to-day is "systematic indoctrination." Such indoctrination he gave his people, and now he gives it to the public. We agree with Dr. Torrey that there is great need for clear and popular preaching of Christian doctrine. This need was met by Dr. Torrey in the case of his own Church, and will now be met in that of many readers to whom these sermons shall come in printed form.

There are fifteen sermons, and the subjects treated are the Inspiration of the Bible, the Christian Conception of God, the Deity and Person of Christ, the Personality and Deity of the Holy Spirit, the Atonement, Justification, the New Birth, Sanctification, the Resurrection of the Body, the Devil, Future Punishment.

These great doctrines are expounded clearly, simply, and in a thoroughly evangelical spirit and tone. There are some points of exegesis of particular passages of Scripture in respect to which we should differ from Dr. Torrey; in the main he carries our assent.

There is, however, one fundamental point in which we find some confusion of thought; it concerns the relation of regeneration and faith. In the chapter on "The New Birth," in discussing its results Dr. Torrey rightly says that "faith that Jesus is the Christ" is the result of regeneration. His description of this faith shows that it is just saving faith which he affirms to be the result of regeneration. He does this well, and it is clear that the Scripture is on his side. But later on in the same chapter he tells us explicitly that "we become born again" through faith, i.e., we obtain the New Birth by faith. This statement flatly contradicts the truth which he had just before announced; and, apart from the contradiction, we should like to ask Dr. Torrey how a spiritually dead sinner can exercise saving faith before he has been born again? In regard to the statement that we obtain the new birth by faith, we would add that here Dr. Torrey has not the Scripture with him. He cites Galatians 3:26, where Paul says "For ye are all sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus." Paul is here treating of sonship by adoption. We do obtain Justification and Adoption by faith. But Paul does not say that we obtain the new birth by faith. Dr. Torrey had Paul on his side when he stated the opposite of this in the preceding part of the chapter.

Were this not so fundamental a point, we should not have dwelt upon it. We have called attention to it because it is the heart of the Gospel that salvation is wholly by Grace.

We would close this notice by emphasizing again the great need to-day for just such preaching as Dr. Torrey has given in these ser-

mons, and by commending them to all who feel the need of instruction in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity.

Princeton.

C. W. HODGE.

The Second Coming of Christ. By JAMES M. CAMPBELL. The Methodist Book Concern. New York, Cincinnati. 1919. Pp. 136.

The author's idea is that the second coming of Christ has already taken place. It was a spiritual coming. It occurred at Pentecost; and its outward signs were seen in the events connected with the destruction of Jerusalem. This coming of Christ, while a spiritual coming, was not simply the coming of the Holy Spirit; it was the coming of Christ Himself by the Spirit.

Ever since that day, Christ has been with men, and all the future times of His so-called comings will be rather days of His manifestation of His presence and of His triumphs. The author does not deny a final consummation of the Kingdom of God, but he denies any literal and bodily return of the Lord.

In seeking to establish his position, Mr. Campbell brings out some truths from the New Testament. Thus, against the pre-millennial view that the world is getting worse, and that the real work of saving the world will be performed by Christ when He comes again, the author emphasizes the New Testament truths that now is the day of salvation; that Christ is saving the world by the Holy Spirit; and that Jesus is now a King, reigning over all things for His Church.

But in his reaction from the gross literalism of many chiliastic views Mr. Campbell has gone too far in the opposite direction, and has spiritualized the whole of New Testament eschatology in a manner which it will not bear, and by means of a spiritualizing exegesis which does violence to the eschatological teaching of the New Testament, which asserts that Jesus is to return to usher in the consummation of the Kingdom of God, and that His return will be personal, visible, and glorious.

Princeton.

C. W. HODGE.

The Coming of the Lord: Will It Be Premillennial? By JAMES H. SNOWDEN, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa. New York, The Macmillan Co. 1919. Pp. 288.

Dr. Snowden's book on the Second Coming of Christ deals largely with the differences between the Premillennial and Postmillennial views. His main purpose, perhaps, may be said to be a refutation of Premillennialism and a defence of Postmillennialism. He does this very well and very thoroughly. Indeed it is his polemic against Premillennialism that constitutes the best part of his book. In certain statements of his own views, we are left in some uncertainty as to precisely what he intends to say. We shall refer to this later.

The first three chapters are really introductory. In the "Introduction" Dr. Snowden emphasizes the fact of Christ's second coming,

pointing out how all Christians agree as to this fact, though they differ as to its time, manner, and circumstances. He sets forth the differences between the Premillennial and Postmillennial views, showing also why the question is of importance because of the way in which oftentimes one's position on the question determines one's whole theological viewpoint and one's method of interpreting Scripture. In this connection he quotes Dr. David Brown's statement that Premillennialism is no barren speculation, "useless though true and innocent though false," but that it is "a school of Scripture interpretation" which determines one's whole view of Scripture and the whole character of the theological system.

Following this introductory chapter is Chapter Two, which traces the history of the "Millennial Hope" in its various forms in the Pagan world, throughout the Bible, and in the history of Christian doctrine. The third chapter is also introductory in character. It deals with principles of interpretation of the Scripture. In this connection, Dr. Snowden cautions against a false literalism and the wresting of texts from their context and historical setting. His remarks on this subject are for the most part a sound plea for the principles of historico-grammatical exegesis, though some of his statements are somewhat vague and raise questions as to the adequacy of the author's view of the authority of Scripture.

In Chapter Four Dr. Snowden proceeds to his main discussion, dealing with the idea of the Kingdom of God. In three successive chapters he shows the spiritual nature of the Kingdom, its gradual growth during the inter-adventual period, and the means of its establishment by the preaching of the Gospel and the work of the Holy Spirit. He brings out clearly that now is the day of salvation; that Christ now reigns and is converting the world to Himself, and that when He returns it will be to a practically converted world. He concludes this part of the discussion by pointing out how all this is diametrically opposed to the Premillennial view.

He then takes up the Coming of Christ, saying that in the Scripture many "comings" are spoken of, but that there is to be a final coming to raise the righteous and the wicked, to judge all men, and usher in the final consummation of the Kingdom of God.

After devoting a chapter to pointing out the Judaistic character of the Premillennial theory, Dr. Snowden sums up all this discussion of the Kingdom and the Second Advent in two chapters, which state summarily and respectively the objections to Premillennialism and the arguments for Postmillennialism. These chapters, as has just been said, really summarize the author's entire preceding discussion. We will get the best understanding of his views on the whole subject, therefore, by giving his objections to the view he rejects, and his arguments for the one he accepts.

He states seven objections to Premillennialism. First, it is unsound in its methods of handling Scripture; it pursues a false literalism, taking figurative language literally and ignoring parts of Scripture

which refuse to fit in with its theory or which flatly contradict it. Secondly, it has wrong conceptions of the Kingdom. It denies that the Kingdom is now present in the world, and asserts that it will not begin till Christ comes again. Dr. Snowden shows that this is contradictory to the Scripture.³ Thirdly, it has narrow views of the Coming of Christ and of what it means to watch for it. It overlooks the various ways and times in which Christ comes, and thinks that an attitude of nervous expectancy is the proper one for the Christian to take in respect to the return of Jesus.⁴ Fourthly, it is Judaistic; it presses the literal interpretation of Scripture to the extreme, and takes a Judaistic view of the external nature of the coming Kingdom and the means by which it is to be set up. In its idea of a future earthly Kingdom and of the restoration of the sacrificial system, Premillennialism is a recrudescence of Judaism.⁵ Fifthly, it depreciates the Gospel and the Holy Spirit. In this connection, Dr. Snowden says that he does not mean to say that the advocates of Premillennialism do this intentionally. He points out, however, that it is the logic of their view that the Gospel and the Holy Spirit are not to convert the world, and that the Gospel is a failure in the interadventual period.⁶ Sixthly, Premillennialism is pessimistic in its affirmation that the world is getting worse.⁷ Seventhly, it leads to harmful results in creating an attitude of nervous excitement which unfits men for work for the establishment of the Kingdom of God now and for the conversion of the world to Christ.

In contrast with all this, Dr. Snowden argues that Postmillennialism is based upon a sound method of interpretation of the Scripture. It sees that the Old Testament is fulfilled in the New Testament; that Christ is now reigning and saving the world before He comes again. It believes in the spiritual character of the Kingdom and its gradual growth until it converts the world. It sees in the preaching of the Gospel and the power of the Holy Spirit the appointed means of accomplishing this world-wide extension of the Kingdom. It recognizes but one resurrection of the dead and one final judgment at the end of this age. And in all this, Postmillennialism—so Dr. Snowden asserts, and we think proves—agrees with the teaching of the New Testament. It is not Judaistic, and it is optimistic in character, which optimism the author thinks is justified. He devotes the last chapter of the book to proving this.

On the whole this volume is to be regarded as a vigorous polemic against Premillennialism and a vigorous defence of Postmillennialism. For the most part it is sane and clear in its exegesis. It has, however, in our judgment, certain defects.

One of these is that, in his reaction from the crass literalism of the premillennial exegesis, Dr. Snowden is inclined to spiritualize too much the Biblical statements concerning the Second Coming of Christ. He tells us that, while it is to be a real return of Jesus, it is not to be "physical." If we are puzzled to know exactly what he means by this, and wonder whether he reduces the Second Advent simply

to the coming of Christ by the Spirit, Dr. Snowden would tell us no, that Christ is really to return personally, but that our Lord's resurrection body is a "spiritual body," by which he means a body made of spirit, which would seem to us to be just no body at all.

And this leads us to mention a second defect in this book; it is the author's view of the nature of the resurrection body of Christ and of Christians, and his exegesis of the Pauline passages on the resurrection body. After the author's sound and able exegesis of the parables of Jesus, one is surprised to find him halting and lame in his exegesis of Paul's statements. He says that Christ has not now a "physical" body, but a spiritual body, and that the resurrection body of Christians likewise is to be "spiritual," not "physical." He says that Paul flatly denies that the resurrection body is a physical body of "flesh and blood." In support of these statements, Dr. Snowden appeals to two sayings of Paul which we believe that he misunderstands.

One of these is the Apostle's statement concerning the resurrection, to the effect that "it [the body] is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body" (1 Cor. xv, 44). This Dr. Snowden interprets to mean a body made out of spirit. But evidently this is not what Paul means. He is contrasting the body which is buried with the body which is to be raised, and he gives a series of contrasts of which this is one. He says that it is buried a "natural body" *σῶμα ψυχικόν* and is raised a "spiritual body" *σῶμα πνευματικόν*. These phrases are evidently exact parallels. Paul cannot mean that the body which is laid in the grave is made out of *psyche* or soul substance, and so he cannot mean that the body which is raised is made out of spiritual substance. He means that the body which is buried is the fit organ of man's natural sinful life, and so, similarly, that it is raised up a body which is the fit organ of man's life as determined by the Holy Spirit.

This meaning of the term spiritual, moreover, is in accordance with Paul's use of the adjective *πνευματικός*. He uses it in about eighteen passages, in some of them several times, and with one or possibly two exceptions there is always a reference to the Holy Spirit. It denotes the nature of that of which it is predicated, as determined by the Holy Spirit.

The other statement of Paul to which Dr. Snowden appeals is that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God" (1 Cor. xv, 50). He interprets this statement as meaning that the resurrection body will not consist of flesh or anything material. But here again we think that he misinterprets Paul. By the term flesh here the Apostle does not refer to the substance of our bodies. In the other places where Paul uses the phrase "flesh and blood" he means man, either in contrast with God (Gal. i, 16) or with supernatural powers (Eph. vi, 12). Here in Corinthians the phrase denotes human nature in its frailty and also in its sinful corruption. That the phrase has also this ethical sense here is evident from the context, in which Paul

goes on to say, "neither doth corruption inherit incorruption." where the corruption is evidently due to sin, and where it explains what Paul means by flesh and blood. The contrast, moreover, between the first and the second Adam, the one the source of sin and corruption, the other the source of salvation, life, and incorruption, also shows that the words "flesh and blood" have this ethical tinge here. Paul says nothing here that could justify the inference that the resurrection body is to be made of spirit, and so is to be no body at all.

Another statement of Paul's in regard to the resurrection body which we think that Dr. Snowden misinterprets is 2 Cor. v. 1: "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." Here undoubtedly Paul is referring to the resurrection body; and Dr. Snowden affirms that the Apostle asserts that the departing believer is to receive his resurrection body at once when he dies. But the context is against this interpretation. Paul evidently expressed a desire to be clothed with his resurrection body at death, in order that he might not be found naked. But it is also clear that he was conscious that this would not be the case. His longing to be clothed with his resurrection body, so that he might not be found naked, shows that he was here in this passage conscious that to be present with the Lord was to be absent from the body, which truth he elsewhere expresses. When the Apostle, using the present tense, affirms that we know that if we die "we have" this building from God, *i.e.*, our resurrection body, he is simply expressing in a strong way his certitude that he will surely have his resurrection body. The present tense is used to express this certitude, which is also expressed in his first statement that he knows that this is true.

A third deficiency in this volume is that no mention whatever is made of a third main view of the Second Advent, *viz.*, the A-Millennial view. This is the view which believes that there will be no earthly millenium at all. The only millenium is eternity in the consummated Kingdom of God. This view agrees with the Premillennial view that the world is not to be converted in this inter-adventual period and that Jesus is not to return to a converted world. It agrees with Postmillennialism, however, and differs from Premillennialism, in asserting that when Christ comes again it will be to raise the righteous and the wicked, to judge all men, and to usher in the end of this age and the final consummation of the Kingdom of God. This view was held by many of the Reformed theologians of the seventeenth century in reaction from all forms of Chiliasm, and it has its advocates to-day. In principle it can be so stated as not to differ greatly from the Postmillennial view, but it is one of the main views on the subject, and surely should not have been entirely omitted in a volume devoted to the discussion of the Second Coming of Christ.

Princeton.

C. W. HODGE.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

Lectures in Pastoral Theology. By H. J. GEORGE, Professor of Theology and Church History in the Covenant Seminary, Allegheny, Pa., 1892 to 1910.

This is the third volume in the series of lectures prepared by Dr. George. It may be of less wide usefulness but possibly of deeper interest than the preceding volumes in the series, for it is more peculiarly reflective of the personal tenets of the author. In dealing with "the pastor and the Kingdom" and "the pastor and the world" Dr. George makes suggestions relative to the work of the Church at home and abroad which will be of service to all ministers. The third part of the volume, however, treats "the distinctive principles of the Covenant Church" and shows the grounds on which the members of that communion object to instrumental music, to the use of uninspired hymns, to membership in secret societies, and to communing with members of other churches. The discussions are clear and forcible. The volume opens with a brief introduction by Professor George M. Sleeth, which is of so high an order that it would in itself make the book of real value.

Familiar Talks on Sermon Building. By REV. OSCAR A. HILLS, D.D., LL.D., Pastor Emeritus of the Westminster Church, College of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Cloth, 12mo., pp. 96.

This little book will be of interest to all students for the ministry, and especially to those who are connected with Lane, Western, and Princeton Theological Seminaries, inasmuch as its messages were first prepared to be delivered to the students of Lane," and since the book embodies manuscript notes of lectures delivered by Dr. William M. Paxton, who served first as Professor in the Western Theological Seminary and subsequently in Princeton. The "talks" are brief and pointed. They include suggestions as to the "choosing of the text," "arranging the material," "the introduction and conclusion," "expository and biographical preaching." This little volume cannot fail to be helpful to all who are seeking efficiency and power as preachers of the Gospel.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

The Dynamite of God. By BISHOP WILLIAM A. QUAYLE. Methodist Book Concern. 1918. pp. 330. \$1.50 net.

The title of the volume is singularly infelicitous. It is drawn from the text of the opening sermon, I Cor. 1:24, which is rendered, "Christ the dynamite (δύναμις) of God." The power of Christ was primarily unto salvation, not destruction, as the sermon itself makes plain. "Tenderness, solicitude, and love—this is God's conception of power" (p. 12). Surely dynamite does not suggest that kind of power.

The sermons are striking, even fascinating. Exception may be

taken here and there. The connection between text and theme is not always obvious, as in the sermon on Rom. 1:14—"I am debtor," from which the subject is drawn, "Civilization's Debt to Greece and Palestine." The style is extremely colloquial, occasionally awkward or even ungrammatical. We read that "Athens had power and tyrannized over the Hegemony" (p. 12). "Beautiful Shepherd," the title of the third sermon, is no improvement upon "Good Shepherd."

But these are matters of small importance. Bishop Quayle is strong where most preachers are weak. His imagination is vivid, and he invests familiar persons and scenes with new beauty. He appeals alike to the intellect and the emotions, and pathos and humor are equally at his command. If his language is sometimes a little strained, it is charged with thought and suffused with emotion. The style, in spite of the defects that have been noted, is vigorous, picturesque, epigrammatic, and reminds us now and then of the pungency and incisiveness of Joseph Parker. A severely critical taste might require a measure of pruning, but this exuberance, this riot of fancy, has its charm of a kind so unusual that we give it welcome and wish that it were found more frequently in the pulpit, where pious platitudes and decorous dullness are the chief dangers that beset the ministry. The truth of the Gospel is presented in a striking way that arrests the attention and touches the heart. In words of rare beauty and power the Scripture is magnified and Christ is exalted. So attractive and impressive a volume of sermons it is not often permitted us to read.

Princeton

J. RITCHIE SMITH.

In the Rift of the Rock. By EDGAR L. VINCENT. The Abingdon Press. 1918. Pp. 224. \$1 net.

This is a delightful book, rich in thought and experience. Various Scripture scenes and incidents are portrayed in which the rocks hold a prominent place. The plan is happily conceived and well worked out. The spirit is devout and reverent; the illustrations are drawn for the most part from life rather than from books, and the stories admirably told. The titles of the chapters indicate the range and variety of the theme: The Rock That Was Smitten; The Nest in the Side of the Rock; Fire Out of a Rock; Dwelling on the Top of the Rock; The Pathway Between the Rocks; Graven in the Rock For Ever; The Eagle's Abiding Place; The Soul's Sure Footing; Higher, Still Higher, to the Rock; Forgetting the Rock of Strength; The Shadow of a Great Rock; Hewn from the Rock; Broken by the Hammer for Service; Honey Out of the Rock; A Song from the Top of the Rock; On the Rock Foundation; That Rock Was Christ.

Heart speaks to heart in these charming pages, which strengthen faith and refresh the soul.

Ornamented Orthodoxy: Studies in Christian Constancy. By EDGAR DEWITT JONES, D.D. Fleming H. Revell Co. 1918. Pp. 221. \$1.25 net.

The singular title is drawn from the text of the fourth sermon. "Adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things." The sermons are brief and interesting, bright and spirited, though rather superficial. The sermon on The Seventy comprises only five pages, and, of course, barely skims the surface of the theme. There is abundant illustration, largely in the form of anecdotes; Hetty Sorrell (p. 50, 56) should be Sorrel. And on p. 184 the great historian is called Gibbons. Euodia appears as Euxodia. The interpretation of Matt. 7:6—casting pearls before swine—is wholly inadequate. That Solomon was finally lost (p. 109) cannot be maintained in face of II Sam. 7; 14, 15—"my loving kindness shall not depart from him, as I took it from Saul." We read, "It is significant that no artist has had the audacity to paint Jesus as a military hero with a sword in his hand, a shield on his arm, a helmet on his head, or fierce light of battle in his eye" (p. 162). But that is just the representation that John gives of him in the Apocalypse. He is a King as well as a Saviour, and comes to conquer and to judge as well as to redeem.

The most serious defect of the book is that it does not sufficiently exalt Christ as Redeemer, and therefore lacks the power and passion of the Cross.

Princeton

J. RITCHIE SMITH.

The Evangelism of Jesus. By ERNEST CLYDE WAREING, Editor Western Advocate. New York. Abingdon Press. Cloth, 16mo., pp. 121. Price 60c.

This little book is intended for Bible students and study classes. It contains six careful studies on the personal evangelism of our Lord, including the interviews with Nathaniel, Nicodemus, the woman of Samaria, and also the healing of blind Bartimaeus, the story of the repentent malefactor, and the conversion of Saul of Tarsus. These six narratives are reviewed to suggest six distinct types, namely, the devout soul, the inquiring soul, the strong soul, the impotent soul, the distressed soul, and the violent soul. Each study is followed by a series of question; and is preceded by a prayer. The book is admirably adapted to the purpose for which it was designed.

A Salute to the Valiant. By WILLIAM V. KELLEY. New York: Methodist Book Concern. 12mo., pp. 101. Price 75c net.

This extraordinary tribute to a heroic and noble life is a worthy memorial to all who suffer valiantly and who die bravely. It shows clearly that the courage of those who dare is no greater than of those who endure. The subject of this particular tribute is Miss Frances Ida Gracey, a young woman whose superb fortitude and Christian purpose exerted its influence over wide circles in every part of the world, and whose memorial has been erected at Kiukiang, China, in the form of a home for cripples, the funds for which were subscribed through her own personal influence and that of friends whose lives have been cheered and strengthened by her faith.

America Here and Over There. By LUTHER B. WILSON, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New York: Abingdon Press. 12mo., cloth, pp. 107. Price 75c net.

These brief addresses, delivered by Bishop Wilson in France in the presence of the American soldiers, breathe a spirit of patriotism, devotion, and Christian faith.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

The Exceeding Worth of Joining the Church. By EDWARD E. KEEDY. Boston: Horace Worth Co. 16mo., cloth, pp. 93. Price 40c net.

As the title indicates, this rather elementary treatise considers the necessity of an open confession of faith in Christ and endeavors to remove the obstacles from the way of those who are hesitating for any reason to take the important step of uniting with some branch of the Christian Church.

Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Korea (Chosen). Compiled by CHARLES ALLEN CLARK, D.D., Seoul, Korea, Japan. Korean Religious Book and Tract Society. Cloth; pp. 264.

This volume contains an admirable compendium of the work accomplished in Korea, both in the line of Evangelism and also in connection with the organization of Christian work in Chosen. It will be invaluable to workers in that country and of real interest to the wider circle of those who are concerned in the problems and the advance of Christian missions.

The Oregon Missions. By JAMES W. BASHFORD, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New York: The Abingdon Press. 12mo., cloth, pp. 311. Price \$1.25.

The purpose of this book is to show how the northwest boundary line was run between Canada and the United States from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. It is because of the large part played by the missionaries of the Congregationalist, the Presbyterian, the Dutch Reformed, and the Methodist churches in securing without a war the wise division of territory between Great Britain and the United States that the book receives its title. It is an interesting and illuminating narrative. The purpose of the author is to place due emphasis upon the work of the early missionaries of his own Church and to rescue one or two of their names from an undeserved oblivion. However, his treatment of the work of sister churches is fair and considerate, and the chapters on Whitman are especially worthy of mention.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

American Tithers. By JAMES L. SAILER, Member of the Chicago Bar. New York: Methodist Book Concern. Paper, 12mo., pp. 48.

This plea for the practice of tithing is sustained by the testimony of bankers, manufacturers, merchants, lawyers, editors, ministers, educators, and leaders in industry. It closes with a bibliography and comprises a brief but strong presentation of this view of Christian stewardship.

Stories for Every Holiday. By CAROLYN SHERWIN BAILEY. New York: The Abingdon Press. Cloth, 12mo., pp. 277. Price \$1.25.

This is an excellent book for little children. The stories are well told and all contain helpful and stimulating messages which are calculated to inspire courtesy, kindness, and courage.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

GENERAL LITERATURE

The Abingdon War-Food Book. Abingdon Press. 1918. pp. 58. 25 cents net.

This book is brought within the scope of a Theological Review by its contents and by its purpose. It contains a Preface by Herbert Hoover; The World Food Problem, by Vernon Kellogg; Thoughts on the Present Scarcity of Provisions, by the late Rev. John Wesley; and War Time Recipes and Menus, by Charlotte Hepburn Ormond. The paper of John Wesley furnishes fresh illustration of the truth that in every generation many are filled with horror at the prevailing iniquity of the age and lament the degeneracy of mankind. Writing in 1773, he says: "For what good can we expect (suppose the Scriptures are true) for such a nation as this? Where there is no fear of God; where there is such a deep, avowed, thorough contempt of *all Religion* as I never saw, never heard, or read of in any other nation, whether Christian, Mohametan, or Pagan. It seems as if God *must* arise and maintain his own Cause."

The needs of the world to-day and the demand made upon us to supply them have added tremendous weight to the words of Paul, "Whether therefore ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." It is well that we should be taught how to eat so that God may be glorified in the service that we render to our fellow men.

Princeton.

J. RITCHIE SMITH.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

American Church Monthly, New York, January: ARTHUR C. A. HALL, Open or Restricted Communion; IRVING P. JOHNSON, Mission of the American Episcopate; HAMILTON SCHUYLER, War and the Future; CHARLES C. MARSHALL, Christianity and Mr. Arthur Hender-son; RICHARDSON WRIGHT, Zeal of Thine House; CLERE UNWIN, Forgiveness vs. Karma. *The Same*, February: FRANK DAMROSCH, JR., Dr. Fossdick and the Church; WILLIAM C. WHITE, Democracy and Christianity; J. G. H. BARRY, Some Minor Uses of the Clergy; C. B. WILMER, Value of Old Testament; JOHN C. MCKIM, A Pan-Anglican Liturgy. *The Same*, March: FREDERICK BURGESS, Revision and Enrichment of Book of Common Prayer; GEORGE L. RICHARDSON, The Church and the War; CHARLES C. EDMUNDS, Did Jesus Ever Live?

ALBERT L. LARNED, Popular Devotions and Objective Worship; FRANCIS J. HALL, The Old Testament—Why.

American Journal of Theology, Chicago, January: ALFRED E. GARVIE, Present Problem of the Supply and the Training of the Christian Ministry in England; JOHN M. MECKLIN, The War and the Dilemma of the Christian Ethic; LOUIS H. JORDAN, Study of the History of Religions in the Italian Universities; CHARLES C. TORREY, Fact and Fancy in Theories concerning Acts; CHARLES E. PARK, Possibilities of Beauty in the Congregational Order; D. D. LUCKENBILL, Babylonian Religious Texts; HENRY P. SMITH, The Hebrew Prophets; CHARLES C. TORREY, Mohammedan Tradition About Jesus; CLARENCE A. BECKWITH, The Doctrine of Reconciliation.

Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, January: BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD, "Die Heiligungsbewegung"; HAROLD M. WIENER, The Greek Genesis, the Graf-Wellhausen Theory, and the Conservative Position; HERBERT W. MAGOUN, The "Split Infinitive" and Other Idioms; W. H. GRIFFITH THOMAS, German Moral Abnormality; IAN C. HANNAH, Christian Monasticism and Its Place in History; E. C. GORDON, What Is a Democracy? F. H. FOSTER and L. F. GRUBER, Theory of a Finite and a Developing Deity.

Catholic Historical Review, Washington, January: THOMAS F. MEEHAN, Catholic Literary New York; LAURENCE J. KENNY, The Gallipolis Colony; GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, St. Regis Seminary—First Catholic Indian School; HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY, The Pedro Fages MS. on California.

Church Quarterly Review, London, January: WALTER C. ADENEY, Towards Re-Union: a Nonconformist View; HAROLD F. HAMILTON, The Church and the Ministry; A. C. BOUQUET, Some Suggestions About Religious Education; MAURICE JONES, The Church in Wales After Disestablishment; ROBERT VAUGHAN, Scientific and Biblical Doctrines of Death; W. C. BISHOP, The Early Persian Liturgy; How Is Greek To Be Kept Alive?

Constructive Quarterly, New York, December: W. P. DUBOSE, The Faith of a Christian To-day; LEONID TURKEVICH, Hopes for the Orthodox Church of Russia; L. DIMIER, Bossuet's Correspondence with Leibnitz on Reunion in the Time of Louis XIV; BURNETT H. STREETER, Christ the Constructive Revolutionary; W. LOCK, A Constructive Gospel; W. L. BEVAN, Continuity in the Christian Ministry; J. K. MOZLEY, The Incarnation, the Church, and the Principle of Personality; DUNCAN MACDONALD, Limitations of the Mystical Method in Religion; P. KOHNSTAMM, Modern Culture and the Church; RAYMOND VERNIMONT, An Appeal to All the Churches.

East & West, London, January: GEORGE R. PARKIN, Frontier Work in Western Canada; HAROLD BUXTON, Armenia and the Peace Settlement; GODFREY DALE, In "German" East Africa; H. J. KERRIDGE, Hindu Religious Setting; GODFREY CALLOWAY, An Apologia for the Witch-Doctor; F. J. BADCOCK, The Catholic System and the Mission Field; JOHN LEE, The Edge of Belief.

Expositor, London, January: A. T. ROBERTSON, Barnabas the Friend of the Friendless; B. W. BACON, St. Paul to the Laodiceans; A. E. GARVIE, The Glory in the Fourth Gospel; J. M. THOMPSON, Accidental Disarrangements in the Fourth Gospel; J. A. ROBERTSON, The Passion Journey; A. MARMORSTEIN, Jews and Judaism in the Earliest Christian Apologies. *The Same*, February: G. HARFORD, The Prince of Peace; A. MARMORSTEIN, Jews and Judaism in Early Christian Apologies; A. T. ROBERTSON, Our Lord's Command to Baptize; J. A. ROBERTSON, Another Chapter of Testimony About the Passion Journey of Jesus; H. A. A. KENNEDY, Philo's Relation to the Old Testament.

Expository Times, Edinburgh, December: Notes of Recent Exposition; STANLEY A. COOK, Comparative Religion—And After; A. E. GARVIS, "Christ Crucified" for the Thought and Life of To-day; GEORGE FARMER, Leaven; *The Same*, January: Notes of Recent Exposition; P. T. FORSYTH, Foolishness of Preaching; THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, Assyro-Babylonian Astrologers and Their Lore; A. E. GARVIE, "Christ Crucified" for the Thought and Life of To-day; F. G. CHOLMONDELEY, A "Vindictive" Psalm. *The Same*, February: Notes of Recent Exposition; DAVID REID, An Abridged Old Testament for Popular Use; STANLEY A. COOK, Reconstruction of Religion; W. B. SEDGWICK, Authorship of the Pastorals; VACHER BURCH, To Placard the Crucified; C. W. ATKINSON, New Patch on an Old Garment; GEORGE C. WALKER, For Thy Name's Sake; ADAM C. WELCH, Revival After Three Days.

Harvard Theological Review, Cambridge, January: JAMES L. BARTON, Effect of the War on Protestant Missions; ARTHUR C. MCGIFFERT, Christianity and Democracy; FRANCIS G. PEABODY, The Peace-Makers; DURANT DRAKE, Seekers After God; CRANE BRINTON, Lord Acton's Philosophy of History.

International Journal of Ethics, Concord, October: J. DASHIELL STOOPS, The Larger Self; E. THACKRAY, The Enthronement of Public Right; J. R. KANTOR, Ethics of Internationalism and the Individual; VICTOR S. YARROS, Ethics in Modern Fiction; HERBERT L. STEWART, Euthanasia; HARTLEY B. ALEXANDER, Art and the Democracy; JOSEPH R. GEIGER, Religious Worship and Social Control. *The Same*, January: A. E. HEATH, International Politics and the Concept of World Sections; H. M. KALLEN, "In the Hope of the New Zion"; I. W. HOWERTH, The Great War and the Instinct of the Herd; ROGER S. LOOMIS, A Defence of Naturalism; THOMAS D. ELIOT, Creation of Souls; MAURICE DE WULF, Society of Nations in the Thirteenth Century.

Interpreter, London, January: H. J. D. ASTLEY, Survivals of Primitive Cults in the Old Testament; R. O. P. TAYLOR, Heaven and the Heavens in the New Testament; A. T. CADOUX, Ethics and Eschatology; L. HODGSON, Original Sin and Baptism; T. HERBERT BINDLEY, Early Baptismal Creeds and Formularies; T. FIELD, Forgiveness of Sins; JOHN LENDRUM, Authority, Liberty, and Function; LEWIS DONALDSON, Victory—"What Shall We Do With It?"

Irish Theological Quarterly, Dublin, October: G. E. PRICE, Gleanings Anent the Immaculate Conception; DAVID BARRY, Joint and Several Liability; J. BYRNE O'CONNELL, Berkeley, The Irish Idealist; LAURENCE P. MURRAY, Irish Nature Poetry; Pagan and Christian. *The Same*, January: JOSEPH RICKABY, Miracles; W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD, New Light on Hugh O'Carolan, Bishop of Clogher (1535-1569); J. J. CONWAY, The Galatian Churches; EDWARD J. KISSANE, Darius the Mede.

Journal of Negro History, Washington, October: C. G. WOODSON, Beginnings of the Miscegenation of the Whites and Blacks; ZITA DYSON, Gerritt Smith's Efforts in Behalf of Negroes in New York; FRED LONDON, The Buxton Settlement in Canada; DWIGHT O. W. HOLMES, Fifty Years of Howard University, ii. *The Same*, January: ROLAND G. USHER, Primitive Law and the Negro; CHARLES H. WESLEY, Lincoln's Plan for Colonizing the Emancipated Negroes; FRED LONDON, The Anti-Slavery Society of Canada.

London Quarterly Review, London, October: W. T. DAVISON, The Historic Episcopate; ST. NIHAL SINGH, a New Constitution for India; HERBERT L. BISHOP, The Translation of Holy Scripture into the Bantu Languages; T. H. S. ESCOTT, Forgotten Lights in a Dark Age; J. ALFRED FAULKNER, Economic Questions in the Church of the Third Century; W. ERNEST BEET, Place of Church History in Theological Education; F. W. ORDE WARD, The Two Dispensations. *The Same*, January: P. T. FORSYTH, Religion, Private and Public; ERIC S. WATERHOUSE, The World, the War, and Woman; COULSON KERNAHAN, A Pioneer of Reunion; W. W. SHILLING, South African Troubles; T. H. S. ESCOTT, A Submerged Profession; JAMES LEWIS, On a Canon of Historicity; T. STEPHENSON, Mendelism and Teleology; CATHLEYNE SINGH, The War and Children.

Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, January: J. A. CLUTZ, United Lutheran Church in America; H. C. ALLEMAN, A Hundred Years of the General Synod; F. H. KNUBEL, The Gospels for an Age of Labor; MARION J. KLINE, Genesis of the General Synod; ARTHUR J. HALL, Fundamental Factors in World Peace; JOHN E. HEINDEL, Inner Mission: Its Name, Its Field, Its Work; J. A. SINGMASTER, The Reconciliation With God; LEANDER S. KEYSER, Handling the Word of Truth Aright—Its Importance for the Lutheran Church; LUTHER A. FOX, Authority of Conscience.

Lutheran Church Review, Philadelphia, October: THEODORE E. SCHMAUK, Ethics of Government; LOUIS WESSEL, Office of the Keys—Absolution; GEORGE W. SANDT, Lutheran Leaders As I Knew Them—William S. Passavant, Emmanuel Greenwald; PAUL H. C. SCHMIEDER, Education, Inner Mission, and the Ministry in the Church Orders of the Sixteenth Century, III. *The Same*, January: J. A. W. HAAS, Genius of Lutheranism; L. A. FOX, Patriotism of the Germans in the Colonial South; J. F. PAGE, Morality and the New World Order; W. H. GREEVER, Significance of the United Lutheran Church in America; E. P. PFATTEICHER, The Lutheran Problem in Philadelphia;

WILLIAM M. HORN, *Our Church in the Virgin Islands*; H. E. JACOBS, *The Lutheranism of the United Lutheran Church in America*; ELMER F. KRAUSS, *Our English Mission Work in the West and Northwest*; J. A. W. HAAS, *Lutheran College Situation*.

Moslem World, Cooperstown, January: SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, *Supernatural Because Supernatural*; GEORGE E. WHITE, *Saint Worship in Turkey*; J. G. HUNT, *Sheikh Makhail Mansur, an Apostle*; W. H. T. GAIRDNER, *Mohammed Without Camouflage*; W. T. ANDERSON, *Reaping the Harvest of God*; CHARLES T. RIGGS, *The Waning of the Crescent*; MRS. A. H. MATEER, *Present Conditions of Islam in China*.

Reformed Church Review, Lancaster, January: E. E. KRESGE, *The Roman Centurion—A Character Study*; CHARLES E. MEYERS, *The Gospel's Greatest Paradox—An Explanation*; DAVID B. LADY, *Practical Theology*; GEORGE W. RICHARDS, *Historical Significance of Denominationalism*; WILLIAM F. KOSMAN, *"The Gospel of Jesus"*; E. L. COBLENTZ, *Some Effects of War on Social Conditions*; JOHN C. GEKELER, *The Pietist Zinzendorf*.

Review and Expositor, Louisville, January: WILLIAM D. MACKENZIE, *The War and Christian Theology*; DAVID F. ESTES, *Christ's First Proclamation of the Kingdom*; A. T. ROBERTSON, *The Baptist Preacher in the Modern World*; SAMUEL Z. BATTEN, *Layman's Place in the Kingdom*; Z. T. CODY, *The Spirit's Work of Grace*.

Southwestern Journal of Theology, Fort Worth, January: CHARLES J. HOLMAN, *Canadian Baptists and the Union Movement*; W. W. WEEKS, *Northern Baptists and the Union Movement*; Symposium of Southern State Secretaries on the Union Movement; B. A. COPASS, *Findings of the Panama Congress*; J. B. GAMBRELL, *The Union Movement and Baptist Fundamentals*; C. B. WILLIAMS, *Christian Unity Set Forth in the New Testament*; Z. T. CODY, *The Press and the Union Movement*; F. S. GRONER, *The Union Movement and State Missions*; J. B. TIDWELL, *The Union Movement and Our Baptist Schools*.

Union Seminary Review, Richmond, January: EDWARD MACK, *Our Church in the Reconstruction After the War*; CHARLES S. MACFARLAND, *The Protestant Forces in France and Belgium*; J. WILBUR CHAPMAN, *The New Era Movement in the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.*; W. T. THOMPSON, JR., *Religion for Men*; EDWARD R. LEYBURN, *The Church and Reconstruction*; S. H. CHESTER, *The War and Missions*; S. J. CARTLEDGE, *The Second Coming of Christ*; J. D. EGGLESTON, *William Maxwell*.

Yale Review, New Haven, January: WILBUR C. ABBOTT, *That This Nation May Endure*; WILLIAM A. WHITE, *What the War Did for Brewer*; HENRY W. FARNAM, *The Balance Wheels of America*; EMILE CAMMAERTS, *How to Strengthen Belgium*; FRANCIS A. KELLOR, *What is Americanization?*; W. W. KEEN, *Seven Decades in Medicine*; GEORGE T. LADD, *A Case of Multiple Personality*; W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *The Tutelage of the East*; MARJORIE BARSTOW, *Sketches of Carranza's Mexico*; HENRY D. SEDGWICK, *On Letter-Writing*.

Bilychnis, Roma, Novembre-Dicembre: ARISTARCO FASULO, Brevi Motivi d' una Grande Sinfonia; DINO PROVENZAL, L'Anima Religiosa di un Eroe; LUISA G. BENSO, Il Sentimento Religioso nell'Opera di Alfredo Oriani, II; ROMOLO MURRI, Giuseppe Toniolo; La Scomparsa di un Profeta Americano; RAOUL ALLIER, Il Cristianesimo e la Serbia. *The Same*, Gennaio: AGOSTINO FATTORI, Pensieri dell'Orà di Vincenzo Cento; DOMENICO DI RUBBA, La Fede Religiosa di Woodrow Wilson; GIOVANNI E. MEILLE, Psicologia di Combattenti Cristiani. Note e documenti; MASSEO DA PRATEVERDE, Intermezzo sacramentale.

Ciencia Tomista, Madrid, Enero-Febrero; ALONSO GETINO, Centenario y Cartulario de Nuestra Comunidad; ALBERTO COLUNGA, La Obra de Los Seis Dias; FRANCISCO MARÍN-SOLA, Raciocinio y Progreso Dogmático; V. BELTRÁN DE HEREDIA, Catedráticos de Sagrada Escritura en la Universidad de Alcalá durante el siglo xvi; La union de las confesiones cristianas.

Gereformeerde Theologisch Tijdschrift, Baarn, Januari: A. J. L. VAN BEECK CALKOEN, Ons huwelijksformulier; J. WATERINK, De studie van de "Volksziel," noodig voor ambtelijken.

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